DEPARTMENT OF ANTIQUITIES

A REPORT

ON THE

ANTIQUITIES OF LOWER NUBIA

(THE FIRST CATARACT TO THE SUDAN FRONTIER)

AND THEIR CONDITION

IN 1906–7

BY

ARTHUR E. P. WEIGALL

CHIEF INSPECTOR OF UPPER EGYPT, DEPARTMENT OF ANTIQUITIES

OXFORD

PRINTED AT THE UNIVERSITY PRESS

BY HORACE HART

1907

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Vase from a 'Pan-grave' at Tôshkeḥ.
[Grave H.] Full size.

A. E. P. W.

Frontispiece.

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PREFACE

This report does not pretend to be a finished work. It is simply a preliminary description of monuments and ancient remains which require to be thoroughly studied at a later date. The material was rapidly collected during the ordinary course of the writer's inspections, and has been put together without reference to more than the half-dozen books which happened to be accessible. Few of the questions have thus been 'worked up'; and no doubt errors will be found by the Egyptological reader. The copying of the inscriptions, the writing up of the text, and the preparation of the plates has occupied little more than two months, in which the greater part of the days was spent in walking over the country. With regard to the copies of the graffiti it must be distinctly understood that no attempt at great palaeographical accuracy has been made. These copies are intended only to guide the interest of the archaeologist in the direction of the originals. The final copy of every inscription, and the final record of every fact must be made by the archaeologist, and not by an inspector, whose time for such work is so limited.

Thanks are due to Mr. Somers Clarke for having placed his notes at the writer's disposal; to Mr. M. MacDonald, Director General of Reservoirs, for much assistance and advice; to Mr. Bird for the use of several photographs; and to Mahmud Effendi Muhammed and Mahmud Effendi Rushdy, of this Department, for their energetic work under somewhat trying circumstances.

The report was ready in December, 1906, but its dispatch to the printer's was delayed for several weeks owing to various causes; and it was still in manuscript when the final conference on the proposed raising of the Aswân Barrage was held. The MS. was then shown to Sir William Garstin, and the writer was asked by Monsieur Maspero to draw up the preliminary proposals for work in the threatened territory. These were presented to Sir William Garstin; and, when the raising of the Barrage had

been decided upon, a large sum of money was voted for archaeological work. Arrangements have now been made for the undertaking of very extensive works in that part of Lower Nubia which will be flooded; and thus one *raison d'être* of this report no longer holds. When, therefore, the writer mentions an excavation or reparation which in his opinion ought to be undertaken, it must be understood that the question now lies with persons whose opinions are of far more value.

Apart from the preservation of the antiquities endangered by the raising of the water, however, there still remains the question of safeguarding those which are in danger from other causes. But here again one of the objects of the report has already been attained: an Egyptian inspector has been appointed to watch the interests of this Department in Lower Nubia, and a scheme is under consideration for the thorough patrolling and guarding of the ancient sites.

The writer may perhaps be permitted to express here his very sincere gratitude to Sir William Garstin and to Monsieur Maspero for their interest in this small and hurried effort on behalf of the antiquities of Lower Nubia.

A. E. P. W.

Luxor,
July, 1907.

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INTRODUCTION

During the winter of 1904–5 Monsieur Maspero, Director-General of the Antiquities Department, personally inspected the monuments of Lower Nubia; and on his return he informed the present writer, who had just been appointed Chief Inspector of Antiquities, of the neglected condition in which he found them. In the autumn of 1905, therefore, the writer made a seventeen days' inspection of the country as far south as Abu Simbel, and in the following spring another fourteen days were spent in visiting the ancient remains as far south as Maḥâraḳa. These two rapid visits only served to show that a more thorough inspection of the whole country would have to be made, and a fuller report drawn up. The question of raising the Barrage at Aswân at this time began to be discussed again; and as there seemed some probability of the work being carried out, Monsieur Maspero asked the writer to spend eight weeks in Lower Nubia during the autumn of 1906 in order to prepare this report, and to make an estimate of the cost of the necessary repairs and excavations, so that it could be compared with his own estimate. The following pages and plates are the result of the work done during this visit, and may be classed under the following heads:—

1. A description of the temples of Lower Nubia, and a detailed account of the reliefs on the walls; with photographs.

2. A rough statement of the repairs necessary in each case.

3. A description of the cemeteries, fortresses, and other ancient sites, so far as they could be seen by walking over the country.

4. The facsimile drawings of the fragments of pottery picked up on some of these sites, which show the date and style of the antiquities likely to be found there by excavation.

5. Fascimile copies of all the graffiti of historical interest which were found on the rocks.

The report is thus intended, in the first place, to show the archaeologist how very many antiquities Lower Nubia contains, with a view to encouraging scientific work there. In the second place it is intended to give some idea of the work which will have to be undertaken in that part of Lower Nubia which will be flooded when the Barrage is raised. In the third place it constitutes a statement of the condition of all the monuments of Lower Nubia, with suggestions as to the best means of preserving and safeguarding them.

The water will be raised to R. L. 113 at most, and the effect of this will be the flooding of the following sites:—

1. The Temples of Philae.
2. The Temple of Bîgeh.
3. The Temple of Dabôd, and the neighbouring cemeteries.
4. The Fortress and Quarries of Ḳertassi.
5. The Temple and Town of Wâdy Hedîd.

6. The Temple and Town of Tâfeh.
7. The Temple of Kalâbsheh.
8. Part of the Temple of Dendûr.
9. Part of the Temple of Gerf Ḥusên, and the cemeteries.
10. The Fortress and cemeteries of Koshtâmneh.
11. The Temple, Town, and cemeteries of Dakkeh.
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13. The Temple and cemeteries of Ḳûrteh.
14. The Temple and cemeteries of Maḥâraḳa.
15. The numerous cemeteries and ancient remains which lie between the above-mentioned large places.

Besides these the water will flood the large number of ancient sites which are not known, but which very certainly exist. Practically all these temples can be strengthened so as to be able to survive their flooding; and if the excavation of every likely part of the desert is carried out, and a full publication of all the material, both in temples and cemeteries, is made, the loss to science will not be great. It cannot, however, be too clearly understood how serious the loss will be if the most elaborate works are not undertaken.[1]

Besides these works in the threatened area a very large amount requires to be done in order to place the monuments of Lower Nubia in a decent condition; and, although it will be necessary to concentrate all one's efforts on the region which will be flooded, still it must not be forgotten that the monuments here and higher up the river are quite unprotected. At present the temples are all open, and are thus constantly being damaged by natives and European travellers. They are full of bats, and in most cases are extremely dirty. The reader is referred to the description of the condition of the temples of Derr, Abu Simbel, 'Amâda, &c. The forlorn appearance of the larger monuments has resulted in an increase of audacity on the part of the robbers of smaller antiquities. Something like five thousand graves have been robbed and pulled to pieces during the last five years. Between Tôshkeḥ and Gerf Ḥusên this robbery has been systematically performed, and each cemetery has been tested and dug out if it proved valuable. The report on the cemeteries of Anâybeh and Dakkeh will be sufficient to show how much damage has been done.

Ever since the Antiquities Department was created the Government has spent large sums of money on the ancient monuments, and with such great works (as those, for example, in the Theban ruins) occupying the attention, it is little to be wondered at that the Nubian temples have been left until this later date.

It is to be hoped that in the near future an Egyptian inspector will be found for this district,[2] who will travel constantly from place to place; and a thoroughly good set of gaffirs or watchmen will in time be appointed. At present there are only five gaffirs employed: one at Gerf Ḥusên, one at Dakkeh, one at Kalâbsheh, and two at Abu Simbel. There should, however, be at least fifteen.

Each year an increasing number of travellers pass through Lower Nubia and visit the temples. It is, therefore, unfortunate that the necessarily large

[1] It has been decided to carry out works on so extensive a scale that no loss to science need now be feared.

[2] An inspector has now been appointed.

works in other parts of Egypt have caused the 'show-places' here to be somewhat overlooked. Abu Simbel is partly covered with sand, 'Amâda is in the same condition, Derr is very dirty, Es Sebû'a is almost buried in sand, Dakkeh has fallen to pieces in part, Gerf Ḥusên is fouled by bats and birds, Kalâbsheh is so filled with broken stones that a visit to its halls necessitates a difficult climb, Dabôd has fallen in parts, and so on.[1] It may be said that at the present time there are no antiquities in Egypt which so urgently require attention as do these monuments of Lower Nubia.

It will be best to introduce the report by a brief sketch of Lower Nubian history, and an account of the main products of the cemeteries found there.

Note.—While this report was being written Prof. Breasted, of Chicago, published an account of his work in Lower Nubia during the winter of 1905–6; and the writer has only recently managed to procure a copy from a friend, no official copy having been presented to this office. He has prepared for publication most of the temples of the New Empire; none of which, however, are in the territory which will be flooded. He did not, of course, examine anything but the known sites, his excellent work in the temples occupying all his time; and thus the new material collected in this report was in no way 'missed' by him.

[1] Work on these temples is already commencing.

THE HISTORY OF LOWER NUBIA

In ancient times the country of Lower Nubia extended northwards as far as the neighbourhood of El Kab. It is at about this point that the aspect of the country changes, and instead of the wide fields of Middle Egypt there are only narrow strips of cultivated land at the water's edge, alternating with stretches of rock and desert. In the Eighteenth Dynasty and onwards the Viceroy of Kush, or Ethiopia, ruled from El Kab southwards, but as the title of this official is always 'Viceroy of Kush and Governor of the Southern Lands' it is not necessary to suppose that the country called Kush extended any further north than the Second Cataract. From Wâdy Hâlfa to Aswân the territory was known as *Ta-kens* 'The Bend-Land' or 'The Land of the Bow'; and, as will be seen, there were three or four principalities included in this district, while between Aswân and El Kab there was the nome of Edfu. The Egyptians were always at war with 'Kush the Vile', but seldom in dynastic history is a war recorded with Lower Nubia. In the Viceroy's title the country north of the Second Cataract was included in the 'Southern Lands', and is quite distinct from Kush. When, therefore, in the following history one reads of the king smiting Kush, one must remember that it was above Wâdy Hâlfa that the war took place, unless the people of Kush had invaded Lower Nubia. Throughout almost the entire history of the Nile Valley the people of Lower Nubia were the faithful allies of the Egyptians, and assisted the Pharaoh to keep the Kushites under control and in their own territory. When Sesostris III drove these Kushites back from the land north of the cataract, which they had invaded, the people of Lower Nubia celebrated his victories and converted him into a national hero, worshipping him in a deified form for several hundreds of years afterwards. In the following account of the history and antiquities of Lower Nubia, therefore, one has nothing to do with Kush, except in so far as it affects some question in Lower Nubian affairs. Nor is one concerned with the district north of the barrage which, although a part of Lower Nubia in character, had a very different history.

Perhaps the earliest evidence of Egyptian influence in Lower Nubia is to be found in the drawing of an archaic king on a rock near Gerf Ḥusên (Plate XXXVII, No. 17). In Ptolemaic times the priests of Philae stated that King Zeser, the first sovereign of the Third Dynasty ruled Lower Nubia as far south as Takômpso, i.e. the Island of Derâr near Dakkeh; and there is no reason why one should doubt this. The people of Lower Nubia at this early age were in part the close relations of the archaic Egyptians, and in the discussion of the so-called 'Pan-grave' tribes it will be seen that the people buried in the great prehistoric cemeteries of Egypt had similar utensils and similar funeral customs to those found in the early cemeteries of Lower Nubia. On the rocks at Tôshkeh one of the archaic inhabitants of the country is drawn (Plate LXV, No. 3), and

from this one sees that the custom of wearing a feather in the hair, which is so often depicted in later Egyptian scenes, was already in existence. This figure carries a bow and arrow, and as there is considerable later evidence to show that this weapon was in very general use amongst the natives here, it may be that the country's name *Ta-kens* owes its origin to the habit. The early inhabitants were good draughtsmen and delighted in covering the rocks with drawings of the gazelles, oxen, giraffes, elephants, and other animals which they saw around them, as well as with drawings of boats and sometimes of themselves.

It is in the Fourth Dynasty that one obtains the first insight into Nubian affairs. King Sneferu conducted a campaign against Lower Nubia or Kush, and records the fact that he captured seven thousand prisoners and two hundred thousand cattle. This must have practically ruined the country, and one hears nothing more of it until a century and a half later, when Userkaf, the founder of the Fifth Dynasty, visited Aswân, and most probably organized the government of the region above that town, thereby making it possible for his successor, Saḥurâ, to send his officials up as far as Tomâs, where the name of that king is found. During the reign of King Âsesâ, at the end of the Fifth Dynasty, a naval officer named Khnumḥotep wrote his name on the rocks at Tomâs; while three officials of the time of Tetâ, of the Sixth Dynasty, also recorded their names on these rocks. In the reign of Pepy I war was made on the Bedwîn of the Eastern Delta, and a great noble of the period, named Una, was commanded to collect an army of negroes from Nubia. This he did, taking the men from the tribes of Ârthet, Mazoi, Âam, Wawat, Kaw, and Temeh. The situation of these tribes will become clear presently. Under Pepy's successor, Merenrâ, Una was appointed Governor of the South, his province extending as far south as the First Cataract only. This cataract and the neighbouring district was now known as 'the Door or Frontier of the South', of which some high official was always 'the Keeper'. The fact that Una was able to collect troops above 'the Door' shows that the Lower Nubian tribes were friendly; though, as the frontier was so clearly marked and so well guarded, the Egyptian control there must have been loose.

Una was now sent to the First Cataract to dig five canals at the most difficult points for the transport of boats. He was then ordered to build three cargo boats and four ordinary boats, in order to bring down from the quarries at the south end of the cataract the granite blocks destined for the king's pyramid. For the building of these boats Una invited the negro chiefs of Ârthet, Wawat, Âam, and Mazoi, to cut the timber, which they did with such promptitude that Una is able to state that the whole undertaking, including the making of the canals and the building of the boats, was completed in one year. Now the building of the boats must have taken at least three months, for in the present day one vessel of a thousand *ardebs* takes from six weeks to three months to build if the work is carried out quickly. The cutting down of the trees must have taken three months at least, for between five hundred and a thousand acacia trees would have been required to build the seven large vessels; and their floating down the river must have required another month. To complete the whole undertaking in a year, therefore, shows that these works in the extreme south

of Egypt must have been well organized. At this early stage in the history of Nubia, however, one cannot suppose that Una would have attempted to obtain his wood from above the Second Cataract; nor can one suppose that for a work which he seems to have desired to carry out quickly he would have troubled to send for his wood from a distance of over 220 miles. All the tribes, therefore, mentioned above must have been located north of the Second Cataract.

At about this same time another noble, named Herkhuf, was commanded by King Merenrâ to make an expedition to Àam in order to discover the best means of opening up communications with that country. The expedition occupied seven months, and brought back with it 'all manner of gifts' from the Àamites. Now if it only took seven months to explore all the desert roads leading to Àam, to make a report on the conditions up there, to make friends with the inhabitants, to receive and collect from them their numerous gifts, and to carry these back by armed caravan to Egypt, one must admit that Àam cannot have been any further south than the Second Cataract at most. Soon after this Herkhuf made a second expedition, which he describes in the following words: 'I set out upon the Elephantine road, and I descended [to the river] at Àrthet, Måkher, Tereres, and Àrtheth, being an affair of eight months. When I returned I brought gifts from this country in very great quantity . . . I descended to the dwelling of the chief of Sethu and Àrthet, after I had explored these countries. Never before had any noble or caravan-conductor who went forth to Àam done this.' The Elephantine road, upon which Herkhuf started, is probably the great road which runs on the west bank behind the Grenfell tombs, and which is approached by a half hour's walk up one of the valleys opposite Elephantine: for example, up the valley which leads past the Monastery of St. Simeon. This road runs southward at no great distance from the river, except where it cuts inland to avoid the bends, and for that reason it is much used by persons who are in no hurry and who do not wish to carry much provision along with them. Herkhuf descended to the river perhaps at Àrthet and Måkher on his way up, and at Tereres and Àrthet again on his way down, afterwards being entertained by the chief of Àrthet and of Sethu. Tomâs is the point at which most persons who now use the road descend to the river for the first time after leaving Aswân; and the rocks here are covered with inscriptions of the Sixth Dynasty. There is thus some likelihood that the principality of Àrthet may have included Tomâs; and as will be seen presently there are other facts which point to the same conclusion. The second descent is generally made just above Abu Simbel, a district which in Ramesside times was called Måha. This name is not altogether unlike Måkher, when one remembers that a thousand years would separate the two readings. The third descent is usually made at the Second Cataract, and in this neighbourhood one must look for Àam. If it was on his return journey that Herkhuf visited Tereres, one may perhaps identify this place with Taray, a town which is to be identified with Anâybeh, as will be pointed out later. He may have next descended into the principality of Àrthet somewhere about 'Amâda, which was one of the usual resting-places, as the many graffiti on the rocks prove. Herkhuf then visited Sethu, a district which is known to have been below Àrthet; and he boasts that this route was one which had not been followed

before. This probably indicates that he returned by way of the great Korôsko bend: a route which the complete lack of graffiti along its course shows to have been rarely used. Herkhuf was again sent on an expedition to Àam in later years, and this expedition he describes as follows: 'His Majesty sent me a third time to Àam. I set out on the *Wḥat* road, and I found the chief of Àam going to the land of Temeḥ to smite Temeḥ as far as the western corner of heaven. I went after him to the land of Temeḥ, and I pacified him, until he praised all the gods for the king's sake . . . Now when I had pacified that chief of Àam [I descended to the river] below Àrthet and above Sethu, and [there] I found the chief of Àrthet, Sethu, and Wawat. I descended with 300 asses laden with incense, ebony, grain, panther-[skins], ivory, boomerangs, and every good product. Now when the chief of Àrthet, Sethu, and Wawat, saw how strong and numerous were the soldiers of Àam which descended with me . . . this chief brought and gave me bulls and small cattle, and conducted me to the roads of the highlands of Àrthet'.

To understand this expedition it must first be pointed out that the Temeḥ are the same as the later Temeḥu, the semi-Libyan inhabitants of the Oases, who cannot have been in any great numbers further south than el Khârgeh. The chief of Àam was therefore probably invading the Oasis of el Khârgeh. Now the only road to el Khârgeh which runs from the region of the Second Cataract, meets the road from Tomâs near that place, and runs to the Oasis of Kûrkur. Here there is a junction; and one road runs towards the Nile which it meets at Daraw, while the other road runs to el Khârgeh. The word *wḥat* is to be identified with *waḥet* 'oasis', and the '*wḥat* road' spoken of by Herkhuf must therefore be this Daraw–Kûrkur road. This route from Egypt to the Second Cataract via the Kûrkur oasis is the best one to be taken, and is generally used by express caravans at the present day. It seems that when Herkhuf arrived at Kûrkur he found that the chief of Àam had passed through this junction shortly before him, on his way to drive the Temeḥu westward. Herkhuf, remembering that Una, as has been seen, recruited troops from these Temeḥu, thought it very necessary to prevent their extermination; and he therefore hurried along the Kûrkur–Khârgeh road to catch the chief up. This he succeeded in doing, and with him he returned to Kûrkur, and thence to the river at a point below Àrthet and above Sethu, where he found the chief of these two tribes and of the tribe of Wawat. Àrthet probably did not extend northwards much beyond 'Amâda, and Herkhuf may have descended to the river at some point such as Medîk, to which place a road leads from the Kûrkur–Tomâs road, and on the rocks of which there are many Sixth Dynasty graffiti like those at Tomâs. From Herkhuf's account one sees at least that Sethu was further north than Àrthet and that Wawat was located not far away from either. Herkhuf was now conducted by the chief to some road such as that on which he had travelled on his first expedition, and thus he returned to Aswân. The main point to be derived from this account is in regard to the position of Àam. It has already been pointed out that that country cannot be very far to the south, and this conclusion is amply substantiated by the fact that the chief of Àam had gone to make war on the oases. There are no good roads which he could have followed south of the

Second Cataract, nor would he have attempted so long a journey. But, starting from somewhere north of Hâlfa, he could have followed the road which keeps near the river as far as Anâybeh, and then cuts inland to Kûrkur and thence to Khârgeh. It has been suggested that the *Wḥat* road on which Herkhuf set out is to be identified with the Aswân–Shellal quarry road, the verb *wḥa* meaning 'to quarry'. But in that case Herkhuf would be travelling on the east bank of the river, and would not have met the Àamites who were going westward. Moreover the main roads on this bank lead to the mines and to the Berber neighbourhood in the Sudân.

Of the tribes of Lower Nubia already mentioned, the Mazoi and the Kaw still remain unplaced. One does not again hear of the Kaw; but as they are mentioned at the end of the list, it is possible that they inhabited the regions north of the Sethu and just south of the First Cataract. It is at this end of Lower Nubia where the tribes would most quickly lose their individuality. Some light is thrown on the question of the Mazoi by an inscription and relief cut on the rocks opposite Gezîret el Ḥêsseh, near the First Cataract. King Merenrâ is here seen receiving the homage of Lower Nubian chiefs, and the inscription, which is dated in his fifth year, reads: 'The coming of the king himself, standing behind the hill-country, while the chiefs of Mazoi, Àrthet, and Wawat, did obeisance and gave great praise.' Here one finds the Mazoi chief coming to Egypt with the chiefs of the Wawat and Àrthet, neither of which tribes are to be located above Abu Simbel; but the Àamite chief does not appear. Mazoi, therefore, seems to have been more accessible than Àam; and as has been seen already it is to Àam that the difficult expeditions are sent. The people of Mazoi were an extremely warlike race, and the Egyptians so constantly employed them as mercenary troops in later times that the name of their tribe became the usual word for 'soldier'. In the account of the 'Pan-grave' races it will be seen that there is a great possibility that those tribes were employed as soldiers by the Egyptians, for their pottery is found in large quantities inside all the great fortresses. These 'Pan-graves' are found mainly between Gerf Ḥusên and Tôshkeḥ on the west bank of the river, and thus this region, or a part of it, may have to be identified with Mazoi. At any rate the Mazoi are not to be placed much higher up the river than this for the following reason. King Àmenemhât I of the Twelfth Dynasty made war on Wawat, and placed an inscription to this effect at Korôsko; while in another inscription he boasts of having overthrown Wawat and Mazoi together. Thus Mazoi cannot be far from Wawat, and it has already been seen that Wawat is to be placed somewhere near Korôsko, as this inscription of Àmenemhât also indicates. It has been thought that the Mazoi lived in the desert behind Korôsko, and that Àmenemhât invaded their territory by way of the Korôsko–Abû Hamîd road. But in the first place there is ample evidence to show that the Egyptians did not know of this road and never penetrated the desert here; and secondly there is here no oasis in which the Mazoi could have lived; and nowadays the water supply is extremely meagre.

In the present writer's opinion, therefore, the country between the First and Second Cataracts in the Sixth Dynasty is to be divided amongst these

tribes in the following manner. The rugged country between the First Cataract and the Bâb el Kalâbsheh, or thereabouts, belonged to the tribes of Kaw. At this time there was a cataract rushing down the Bâb, and a natural frontier would thus be formed. Between this and Koshtâmneh lived the Sethu. Just south of Koshtâmneh the country on the west bank completely changes in aspect, the sandy desert taking the place of the shelving rocks. Along this bank, as far south perhaps as Derr, lived the Mazoi; while on the east bank opposite them, and in the rocky valleys running back towards the eastern desert, lived the people of Wawat. At about Tomâs on the west bank and Ibrîm on the east began the territory of Àrthet. Probably there were rapids at this point, and thus there was a natural frontier as before. Àrthet extended southwards to just above Abu Simbel, where again there were probably rapids. Above Abu Simbel the aspect of the country entirely changes once more, and becomes more open and sandy; and here one may place the people of Àam, whose southern frontier was perhaps the Second Cataract. Each of these tribes thus occupied an area quite as large as most of the nomes or provinces of Egypt, and there is, therefore, no need to consider them as extending beyond the Second Cataract, and the above arrangement cannot be said to cramp them into an unnaturally small space. In the Eighteenth Dynasty there were five or more provinces in Lower Nubia—Baki, Mââm, Mâhâ, Beḥeni, &c.—and at this early date there must have been certainly as many; for the tendency is always towards amalgamation.

After the death of Merenrâ Herkhuf made a fourth expedition to Àam, and on his return he wrote to the young King Pepy II, dating his letter in the second year of his reign, and informing him that he had brought back a pigmy from Àam. The king was immensely pleased, and wrote to Herkhuf, saying, 'Come northward to the court immediately, and bring with you the pigmy which you have brought living, in good condition, and healthy, from the land of spirits, for the amusement of the king, to rejoice and gladden his heart. When the pigmy is in the vessel, appoint trustworthy people to be on either side of him. Take care that he does not fall into the water. When he is sleeping at night appoint trustworthy people to sleep beside him in his cabin; and make an inspection ten times a night. My majesty desires to see this pigmy more than the gifts of Sinai and of Punt.' It is probable that Herkhuf had heard of these pigmies while he was in Àam, and had managed to obtain this one, through the agency of the Àamite chief, from the far south.

These expeditions of the Sixth Dynasty had opened up the country, and had brought it under Egyptian rule. To the new régime the various tribes objected, and a revolt soon followed. An official named Mekhu, while on an expedition somewhere above 'the land of Wawat and Utheth' [probably Àrthet], was murdered; and as soon as the news was brought to his son Sâbny, an expedition was fitted out, and every effort was made to recover the body. It seems to have been Sâbny's first consideration to find his father's body and give it decent burial; and the punishment of the culprits was postponed. Sâbny actually took presents to the chief of Wawat and Utheth, and made friendly overtures to him. Later in life Sâbny was made 'Governor of the South,'

but the Lower Nubians seem to have been still in a rebellious state; and a general named Pepynekht had to be dispatched to teach them a lesson. Pepynekht states that his orders were 'to hack up Wawat and Àrthet', and that he slew large numbers of the enemy, including the chief's children and the nobles, while others were taken prisoners. On his return he was sent again to these countries to arrange for their future government; and he brought back to the king the two chiefs of Wawat and Àrthet, together with their children and some of the nobles. A period of absolute peace followed, and a certain Khnumḥotep states that he accompanied a great personage named Khwy to Punt, and another noble named Thethy to Kush, on eleven expeditions. This is the first mention of the name Kush, and here, as in later times, it no doubt designates the country above the Second Cataract. During the obscure period which followed one may perhaps place the King Ḥor-nefer-ḥen whose cartouche is found three times on the rocks at Tomâs (Plate LVIII). In one of these three inscriptions reference is made to the land of Àrthet, which is a further indication that that tribe is to be located near Tomâs.

The next reference which one finds to Lower Nubia dates from the reign of Menthuḥotep II of the Eleventh Dynasty, when, in the forty-first year of that king, an official named Kheti, refers to Wawat in vague terms. During all this period, from the Sixth to the Eleventh Dynasties, Egyptian officials seem to have travelled very considerably in the country, for, as will be seen in the following report, they have left numerous graffiti on the rocks. But towards the end of the Eleventh Dynasty, the feeble rule of the Egyptian Pharaohs left the chieftains of the different tribes free to manage their own affairs; and when Àmenemhât I, the founder of the Twelfth Dynasty, reasserted his rights, the Lower Nubians were at first unmanageable. In the well-known 'Teachings' of Àmenemhât I, he says, 'I seized the people of Wawat, I captured the people of Mazoi'; and on a stele at Korôsko, dated in the king's twenty-ninth year, there are the words, 'We came to overthrow Wawat. . . .,' the end of the inscription being lost. This was the second and last revolt of the Lower Nubians until Ptolemaic times.

Sesostris I, the next king, made the now peaceful Lower Nubia the basis of a campaign against Kush, and in his eighteenth year he was able to set up a tablet at Wâdy Hâlfa stating that he had conquered ten of the tribes who lived above that town and probably above the Second Cataract. Eight of the names of these tribes are still preserved, but the names of the Lower Nubian tribes which have already been noted do not occur here; and this is a further indication that none of them is to be located above the Second Cataract. In the forty-third year of Sesostris I the Prince of the Oryx Nome, named Àmeny [Àmenemhât] records that at some time previous to this date he sailed up with the king to conquer the Kushites, taking with him a contingent of troops from his nome; and on a rock at 'Amâda he seems to have recorded his name (Plate LIII, No. 2). In the forty-fifth year, Sesostris I inscribed his name on the same rock, but it is a question whether he was here on a tour of inspection or was returning from another campaign in Kush. On this rock the next king, Àmenemhât II, records his fifth year; and at Dehmîd

his third year is recorded. During his reign an official named Seḥathor states that he visited Lower Nubia, and went round the islands of Ḥa. The name *Ḥa* is referred to in the New Empire at Abu Simbel, and it may have been situated in that neighbourhood. There are islands opposite Gebel Addeh; but on the other hand the largest groups of islands are to be found in the reach between Ermênneh and Tomâs.

At this period the Kushites began to get out of hand, and it is probable that they invaded Lower Nubia. The new king, Sesostris II, was much agitated by this southern danger, and he seems to have regarded an invasion of Upper Egypt as imminent. He therefore constructed the huge brick wall around El Kab, which to this day encloses the ruined city. To him the great wall along the quarry road at Aswân may be attributed; and as the first mention of the Lower Nubian fortresses is made in this reign it is probable that he built these also. An official named Hapu has recorded at Aswân the fact that he made 'an inspection of the fortresses of Wawat'. The great fortresses of Lower Nubia, not including those at the Second Cataract which were built by Sesostris III, are three in number. The most northerly stands at Koshtâmneh, the next at Ḳubbân, and the third at Anâybeh, the last two being named Baki and Taray respectively. In the New Empire the land of Wawat had practically absorbed all the other tribes of Lower Nubia, and the beginnings of this development are here seen, since Anâybeh fortress seems to have been included under the general term 'fortresses of Wawat'. There was now no question of disaffection amongst the Lower Nubians; the energies of all were combined in the attempt to meet the negroes from Kush, and to drive them back to their own land. The fact that no fortress was built higher up stream than Anâybeh perhaps shows that the country to this point was already in the hands of the enemy.

About this time Sesostris II died, and was succeeded by Sesostris III. This king was now called on to face one of the greatest crises in Upper Egyptian history. The war against Kush which had to be undertaken was this time no amusement for a dull year; but there would have to be a long series of campaigns, and the negroes would have to be slowly rolled back beyond the Second Cataract, If one may judge by the 'Pan-grave' pottery found in the fortresses, the tribe of Mazoi were employed as soldiers at this period just as they were in later times. The model soldiers, found in the Twelfth Dynasty tomb of Emsâht, and now in the Cairo museum, represent both Egyptian and negro troops; and it is impossible to suppose that the latter were levied from above the Second Cataract, since that region was hostile.

Sesostris III, at the very beginning of his reign, cut a canal at the First Cataract, in order to allow his fleet to sail up on to higher water; and in his eighth year he had it enlarged and improved. Its length was 150 cubits, its width 20, and its depth 15. In this same year he passed through the canal to commence his campaign. By this time the people of Kush must have threatened the frontier at Aswân, for Sesostris gave orders to have the fortress at Elephantine strengthened. The war was apparently a series of successes for the Egyptians, and before the close of the eighth year the king had driven the Kushites back

beyond the Second Cataract. The invasion of these southern negroes had been such a serious menace to Egypt that Sesostris III now made the strictest laws regarding the frontier, and on the great stele set up at Semneh, near the cataract, he states that this boundary stone was placed here 'in order to prevent any negro from crossing it by water or by land, with a ship or leading herds; except a negro who shall come to trade . . . . or who has a commission. Every good thing shall be done to these, but a ship of the negroes shall not be allowed to pass by Semneh, going down stream, for ever.'

Eight years later the Kushites had become so restless again that the king was obliged to conduct another campaign against them, and to re-establish his frontier at Semneh. This time he engraved a very remarkable inscription on the boundary stone, in which he states that it is his nature to do what he says and to act promptly. He jeers at the Kushites for being conquered upon their own borders, and he says of them that 'they are not a strong people, but are poor and broken in heart'. He states that he captured their women, slaughtered their herds, reaped their grain, or fired their crops. His scorn of his enemies, however, was by no means sincere, for he made every effort to prevent them again invading Lower Nubia, and he even erected a statue of himself at the frontier 'in order that ye [the troops] may fight for it', and prevent it being taken. The huge fortresses around the Second Cataract were now built, but the king was obliged to visit the country once again during his reign. Great rejoicings followed on the conquest of the invaders, and the Lower Nubians were so sincerely grateful to the king that they established annual feasts in his honour, and presently began to regard him as a god; while by the New Empire Sesostris III had taken his place as one of the great gods of Lower Nubia. The frontier was still maintained in the reign of Ȧmenemhȧt IV, for that king records the height of the Nile at Kummeh (near the cataract) in his fifth year.

In the Thirteenth Dynasty, under Sekhemrȧ-Khutawi, a commander of the Semneh fortress, records the Nile level; while another king of this obscure period, Neferkarȧ-Sebekḥotep, left a colossal statue of himself on the island of Arko, thus showing either that he had driven the Kushites back to this point beyond the Second Cataract, or, more probably, that he himself was a negro and had conquered Egypt. In the troubled times of the XIIIth–XVIIth Dynasties the throne of Egypt fell to the strongest man, and there were few who managed to hold it above a year or so. One Pharaoh puts the word *neḥsi* 'the negro' in his cartouche; and as will be seen presently there were other Nubian Pharaohs.

The inscriptions recorded in the following report throw considerable light on this period. In several places in Lower Nubia the present writer found the names and titles of two kings who certainly are to be dated to this time, and who seem to have reigned successively. The names of these kings are Kakarȧ and Seȧnrȧ, and, judging from the fact that their most elaborate inscriptions are to be found between Tomâs and Tôshkeḥ, the largest being at Ibrîm, one may suppose that they were originally princes of that district. After the Sixth Dynasty one does not hear again of the tribes of Ȧrthet and Sethu. The land of Wawat seems now to

have absorbed Sethu, and Ȧam appears to have pushed northwards over the territory of Ȧrthet. In the Eighteenth Dynasty one finds the principality of Mȧȧm extending from Derr to Ermênneh, and it is well within the bounds of probability that Ȧam and Mȧȧm are to be identified. It must be remembered that these names were foreign to the Egyptians, and in early times there were certainly many discrepancies in the spelling of them. Thus Ȧrthet is sometimes called Ȧrtheth, sometimes Utheth, and apparently sometimes Uthek. Wawat is called Wawaw, and sometimes Waȧt. Ȧam itself is sometimes called Ȧmam and Ȧmemaaw in the Sixth Dynasty inscriptions, and the former is practically the same word as Mȧȧm or Emȧȧm. The princes of Mȧȧm in the New Empire are the most important nobles of Lower Nubia, and their territory was recognized as late as Graeco-Roman times.

It is not, then, pushing one's conclusions too far to see in these kings, Kakarâ and Seȧnrâ, two Princes of Mȧȧm or Ȧam, who had taken this opportunity of calling themselves Pharaoh. Their rule extended northwards well into the territory of Wawat, for the cartouche of Kakarâ is found on the rocks at Gerf Ḥusên. At another time during this obscure period a king who called himself Iȧbkhentrâ (?) arose. His cartouche is found at Medîk and Abû Hôr, which, perhaps, indicates that he was a Prince of Wawat, whose capital was in the neighbourhood of Sebû'a. On the rocks at Dehmîd another king of this period is mentioned. His cartouche reads Ḥakarâ or Wazkarâ, and the accompanying inscriptions name one of his nobles. The Lower Nubians at this time, whether under the leadership of Wawat or Mȧȧm, felt themselves strong enough to invade Upper Egypt, and one finds settlements of the 'Pan-grave' tribes, which seem to have been the Mazoi, as far north as Abydos. This question, however, must be discussed in the section on the 'Pan-graves'.

Towards the end of the Seventeenth Dynasty the Princes of Thebes began to assert themselves; and, preparatory to their attempt to overthrow the Hyksos, they made an effort to consolidate their power by obtaining control of Lower Nubia. An inscription found by the present writer at Tôshkeḥ gives the cartouches of Kamose and of Ahmose I; and it is thus evident that these kings' dominions extended to the Second Cataract. It was this fact which allowed Ahmose to conduct his wars in Lower Egypt without distractions from the south; and it was not till his twenty-second year that he found it necessary to turn his attention to Nubia, and even then it was only to punish the nomads perhaps above the Second Cataract. Shortly after this a rebellion, led by a prince called Tetȧ, broke out at a place called Tanttaȧmu, 'She of the land of the water-supply', by which is probably meant Aswân, though it may be that it refers to some place in Lower Nubia. The inscription from Tôshkeḥ (Plate LXV) mentions a Prince Tetȧ, who may have been the son of Ahmose I, and it is just within the bounds of possibility that he may be identified with the rebel. Amenophis I conducted a campaign against Kush, and seems to have made great havoc amongst the negroes, no doubt much to the delight of the Lower Nubians. At about this period one reads of an official named Ḥermȧnȧ, whose duties lay both in El Kab and in Wawat, which indicates that Wawat now extended northwards to the Egyptian frontier without other tribes between.

Thus Wawat and Màåm now divided Lower Nubia between them; in a scene painted in the tomb of a certain Ḥwy at Thebes two lines of negroes are shown, the first being 'chiefs of Kush, &c.', and the second 'the chief of Màåm, the good ruler, and the chiefs of Wawat'. In Wawat there was the military district of Baki, which centred in the fortresses of Ḳubbân and Koshtâmneh; and in Màåm there was the district of Taray, the fortress of that name being situated at Anâybeh. In the neighbourhood of Abu Simbel there was the civil district of Mâha, and at Wâdy Hâlfa was the district of Beḥeni. These last were probably independent of Màåm. At the Second Cataract the great fortresses formed a third military district.

On the death of Amenophis I a decree announcing the accession of Thoutmosis I was set up at Ḳubbân, and another at Wâdy Hâlfa; and almost immediately the king made war on Kush, and set the Egyptian frontier at or above the Third Cataract. On his return to the First Cataract he had the canal of Sesostris III cleaned and restored; and his dahabiyeh sailed through on its way to Thebes with the dead body of the chief of his enemies hanging head downwards from the prow, to be jeered at by all the people of Lower Nubia as he passed. The king now appointed a governor of this district, whose title was 'Royal Son (i. e. Viceroy) of Kush, Governor of the Southern Lands', and whose province extended from El Kab in the North to Napata in the far south; and for several centuries afterwards this Viceroyalty was maintained.

On the death of Thoutmosis I the people of Kush again rebelled, and had to be subdued by Thoutmosis II. This king seems to have built a temple at Dakkeh, for his name has been observed there. Early in the reign of Thoutmosis III a temple at the Second Cataract was built, and offerings were established for the god Ḏedwn, a deity who must have been of Kushite origin as he is hardly ever mentioned in Lower Nubian temples. Amongst the offerings 'the water of Wawat' is referred to. It has been seen that the name Wawat now designated the country as far north as the First Cataract. In later times the Nile was thought to have one of its sources at the island of Bîgeh near Philae, and on this island is a statue of Thoutmosis III. Thus one may perhaps suppose that the sacred 'water of Wawat' came from the Bîgeh neighbourhood. This king built considerably in Lower Nubia. A statue of his was seen at Kalâbsheh; blocks inscribed with his name are found at Dakkeh; a stele of his comes from Ḳubbân; he seems to have built the temple of Kûrteh; he commenced to build the temple of 'Amâda in his old age; at Ellesîyeh a shrine was made by him in his forty-third or fiftieth year; and at Ḳaṣr Ibrîm he also excavated a shrine in the face of the cliff in his fifty-second year. It was during these last years of the king that his attention was turned to Nubia, and he conducted the usual campaigns against Kush. His Viceroy Neḥi had governed the country meanwhile, and in the Annals of the King one reads of the impost of Wawat each year. In the thirty-first year this consists of 31 oxen and calves, 61 bulls, and one of the harvests. In the thirty-third year it consists of 20 slaves, 44 oxen and calves, 60 bulls, and a harvest. In the thirty-fourth year there were 254 deben of gold (a deben weighing from 80 to 100 grammes), 10 slaves, and an unknown number of oxen. In the thirty-fifth year there were 34 slaves, 94 oxen, calves,

and bulls, and one of the harvests. In the thirty-eighth year the tribute consisted of 2,844 deben of gold, 16 slaves, and 77 oxen and calves. In the thirty-ninth year there were 89 head of cattle, and some ebony, ivory, and other merchandise. In the forty-first year 3,144 deben of gold, 79 head of cattle, and some ivory, &c., were brought in. In the forty-second year there were 2,374 deben of gold, and one of the harvests. Unfortunately the tribute of other years is not preserved, but from the above one can see that the king's hand was not particularly heavy on the country. There were two or sometimes three harvests in the year. but the government does not seem to have taken more than one of them, and the number of cattle and slaves is very small. The gold seems to have come from the Wâdy Alâḳi, probably by way of Ḳubbân and Tôshkeḥ, and the fact that nearly 300,000 grammes were produced each year shows that the mines were vigorously worked.

It is interesting to notice that the tribute of Lower Nubia is now called that of 'Wawat'. In some of the yearly lists the tribute of Kush is also given; and, as there is no mention of Màåm, one must suppose that Wawat was now recognized as the main principality of Lower Nubia. Yet, at about this date, the various graffiti recorded in this report make mention of Princes of Màåm, and priests and officials of that country; while the god 'Horus, Lord of Màåm', is invoked over as large a region as was at any time under the influence of this principality. It may be that Màåm was exempt from taxation; but, on the other hand, this general use of the name Wawat to denote the whole of Lower Nubia is indicated by other evidence. Graffiti at Gebel Addeh, above Abu Simbel mention officials of Wawat; and one official who there calls himself 'Scribe of the Offerings of all the gods of Wawat' inscribes his name at Dendûr, where he refers to Horus of Màåm. Even at Ellesîyeh, which is close to the site of the capital of Màåm, an official of Wawat inscribes his name amidst those of the priests, scribes, and the prince of Màåm. One sees, thus, that the name Wawat was now the usual term for Lower Nubia, although the principality of Màåm and the less important districts of Måhà, Beḥeni, and Baki still retained their individuality.

Another interesting record of taxation occurs in the tomb of Rekhmàrâ, where the government is said to receive as a tax from the Commandant of the fortress of Bîgeh 20 deben of gold, 5 good hides, apes, 10 bows, 20 large staves of cedar wood; and from the Commandant of the fortress at Elephantine 40 deben of gold, and one chest of linen. The taxation of the officials of the other towns and settlements as far north as Assiût is given, but two or three debens are all that are asked of them in gold. The importance of Lower Nubia as a gold-bearing region is seen from these records of the tribute and taxation. The mines of Wâdy Alâḳi, as has been said, were certainly approached from Ḳubbân, and perhaps from Tôshkeḥ also. An inscription of a high official at Tôshkeḥ gives him the title of 'Superintendent of the Gold of . . .'; and the importance and prosperity of the east bank of the river in this region is perhaps due to the influx of gold. It is almost certain that Korôsko was never used as a starting-point for the mines, as it is so often thought to have been; for there is hardly a single inscription or graffito between Medîk and 'Amâda on either side of the river, and the east bank continues without traces of ancient activity as far north as Ḳubbân.

Amenophis II, the next king, was also an energetic ruler of Lower Nubia. Early in his reign he completed the temple of 'Amâda, begun by his father; and it is on a tablet here that he tells how he carried one of his captive Asiatic princes up to Napata and hanged him on the walls of that town. The reliefs in the temple of Kalâbsheh show Amenophis II amongst the gods, and it is probable that he was the builder of a temple here. At Anâybeh he seems to have erected a temple; and at Ḳaṣr Ibrîm he excavated a shrine near that of his father. At Bîgeh his name has also been found. His wars in Kush resulted in the establishing of the frontier permanently at the Fourth Cataract. Thoutmosis IV was the next king, and during his somewhat weak rule the Nubians 'from above Wawat' revolted, and were reconquered. In the king's mortuary temple at Thebes a tablet marks the quarter where the 'colony of Kush the Vile, which his majesty brought back from his victories' was located. The rebels 'from above Wawat' thus seem to have been Kushites living above the Second Cataract, and thus one has here another indication of the use of the name Wawat at this period to signify all Lower Nubia. This king's only monument here is the hall of the temple of 'Amâda, which was added by him to the building of Thoutmosis III and Amenophis II.

Under Amenophis III the tribes of Kush again rebelled, and the Viceroy Mermose was obliged to collect an army in friendly Lower Nubia. An inscription recording the muster runs: 'He collected troops, commanded by captains, each man with his village, from the fortress of Baki to the fortress of Taray, which is 52 *âters* of sailing.' Baki is, of course, Ḳubbân; and, taking an *âter* to be about 2·22 kilometres, Taray would be situated 115·38 kilometres above Ḳubbân, that is to say in the neighbourhood of Anâybeh, at which town the present writer found the ruins of a great fortress. The army was thus collected from the land which seems to have been occupied by the fighting Mazoi; and this is an indication that the placing of these people in this region has not been incorrect. During the reign of Âkhenâten these Mazoi seem to have been used as police in the king's new city. Under the next king, Tutânkhâmen, the Viceroy of Kush was a certain Ḥwy, in whose tomb at Luxor are the scenes representing the chief of Mââm and the chiefs of Wawat, which have been mentioned already. At Gebel Addeh a damaged cartouche may give the name of the next king, Ây. Under King Ḥoremḥeb the rock temple of Abahûdeh was excavated, and at Ḳubbân his name has been found. It was, no doubt, a considerable undertaking for this soldier-king to reorganize these southern provinces after the slack rule of his predecessors; but the Kushites do not seem to have given him much trouble.

Rameses I of the Nineteenth Dynasty has left a record at 'Amâda of some event which occurred in his first year, and the mutilated inscription refers to a Viceroy of Kush; while in the next year he left inscriptions at Wâdy Hâlfa. Sethos I seems to have built at Dakkeh and 'Amâda, and together with his father he appears at Wâdy Hâlfa in a temple inscription. To him is to be attributed the commencement of the great temple of Abu Simbel, which was completed by Rameses II; for on an internal doorway there is an inscription dated in the first year of Rameses II, thus showing that the excavation was

already far advanced at that time. In the third year Rameses II undertook some mining operations in the Wâdy Alâḳi district, and he records on a stele found at Ḳubbân how he found water in an abandoned well of the time of Sethos I after sinking it for a few cubits further. He here refers to Wâdy Alâḳi as the district of Akaâta. This king built or completed several temples in Lower Nubia. These are at Kalâbsheh, Gerf Ḥusên, Sebû'a, Derr, Abu Simbel, and 'Ashḳeh. Various shrines and stelae are also found, as will be seen in the following report. In these temples he executed reliefs representing his conquests in Asia, Libya, Ethiopia, and especially his so-called victory over the Hittites. His wars in Kush, however, are shown in a very sketchy manner, and it is not possible to follow their course. Nowhere is Lower Nubia referred to as an enemy, and one must regard this country as still enjoying the friendship and protection of Egypt. But now most of the high officials and princes were Egyptianized, and in the various graffiti described in the following pages it will be seen that they had ordinary Egyptian names. Thus at Abu Simbel one reads of 'the Scribe of the treasury, the Commander of the Troops in the Country, the Deputy Mery, *of Wawat*', and these last words, on the analogy of another inscription of a Viceroy of Kush named Ȧny, who calls himself '*of Heracleopolis*', refer to his nationality. At Ermênneh a Prince of Mâåm inscribes his name, which is Râḥotep; while at Ellesîyeh and Tonḳâleh Princes of Mâåm with the names Mosis and Thoutmosis are recorded. The next king, Merenptaḥ, does not seem to have had much trouble in Lower Nubia; but the political importance of the country as a gold-bearing and a military district is shown by the fact that the next king, Siptah, made every effort to obtain its support. He bribed the Viceroy of Kush with rich gifts; and arranged that the gold-mines should be placed in his hands, thus making as much as possible of this source of wealth. Many inscriptions of his reign are found in the Wâdy Hâlfa neighbourhood, and at 'Amâda his cartouches and those of his queen are inscribed. The Viceroys ever since the XVIIIth–XIXth Dynasties had been called 'Superintendents of the Gold-country of Ȧmen', and this title is held by the above-mentioned Viceroy of Siptah. The power of the Ȧmen priesthood is thus seen, and Siptah, by obtaining the fidelity of the officials at this point, could command the resources, and hence the support, of this priesthood.

Rameses III conducted the usual wars in Kush, but it is not until the reign of Rameses VI that one obtains the next insight into Lower Nubian conditions. Of this date there is a tomb at Anâybeh belonging to a certain Pennut, who held the offices of Deputy of Wawat, chief of the quarry service, and Superintendent of the Temple of Horus of Mâåm. This temple was one of the many shrines of the Horus of this principality, and it is probable that the temple of which the present writer found traces at Anâybeh is here referred to. Pennut was a man of considerable wealth, and he erected a statue of Rameses VI in the temple, and endowed it with the income derived from parts of his estate. In return the king presented him with two silver vases, sending the viceroy to him to make the gift, who said in doing so that the king was pleased with that which Pennut did in the countries of the negroes and in the

land of Akatâ. Akatâ, as has been seen above, is the Wâdy Alâḳi region, and Pennut's title of 'chief of the quarry service' may refer to the mining operations. Certainly there are no quarries of any size in this part of Lower Nubia. The fact that Pennut lived at Anâybeh is a further indication that Wâdy Alâḳi was reached from the Tôshkeḥ–Ibrîm neighbourhood, as has been suggested above. Pennut, in describing the limits of his endowments, refers to the estate of Queen Nefertâri and to the flax-fields of the king, thus showing that much of the land hereabouts was the private property of the royal house.

In the reign of Rameses XII an important alteration was made in the administration of Lower Nubia. It has been seen that in the New Kingdom the gold-mining operations were regarded as being under the jurisdiction of the Viceroy on behalf of the priesthood of Âmen. This no doubt led to many difficulties between the church and the state; and finally Ḥerḥor, the High Priest of Âmen, who afterwards seized the throne, took the extraordinary measure of combining the offices of High Priest and Viceroy of Kush. Upper Nubia had ceased to be a menace to Egypt as a military power, and Lower Nubia was now regarded solely as a gold-producing district which did not require a military administration. Egypt, as far south as the First Cataract, was more or less consolidated into one Kingdom; and thus a Viceroy resident at El Kab was of little use. The duties on the frontier at or above the Second Cataract seemed no longer to call for special energy on the part of any official; and therefore the High Priest of Âmen found an excuse for obtaining from the weak king the supreme authority over these southern regions, which authority meant nothing to him but the control of the gold supply. Rameses XII signed not only the death warrant of his house in thus handing over the mines to Ḥerḥor, but he made the supremacy of Ethiopia over Egypt a possibility. For now that there was no proper administration of Lower Nubia, the people of Kush were able to make their influence felt there, and it was not long before they turned most of the incoming gold in the direction of Napata. In Egypt the title of Viceroy of Kush soon became purely nominal and was in one case given to a princess. In Ethiopia the new wealth brought prosperity and a line of more or less civilized kings, who called themselves Pharaohs of Egypt. In the eighth century B.C. a king of this line, named Piankhi, took possession first of Lower Nubia and then of all Egypt; and thus the despised Ethiopians, always known as 'Kush the vile' or 'Kush the wretched,' became masters of their former conquerors.

Lower Nubia was during this period very much neglected, and there are very few contemporaneous inscriptions, or buildings. Even the gold-mines seem to have been but feebly worked, and most of the caravans set out from points in Upper Nubia. The temples were more or less deserted, and half a century later the foreign soldiers of Psammetichus were able to cut their names over the legs of the colossi at Abu Simbel with impunity.

Piankhi's successor, Shabaka, was followed by another Ethiopian named Shabataka, who after a short reign was murdered by Shabaka's nephew, Taharḳa, who then seized the throne. Napata was still the real capital of these kings, but Tanis in Lower Egypt seems now to have been made their

northern residence. Taharḳa reigned unmolested for several years, but at last was utterly defeated by the Assyrians, and was forced to retire to his southern capital. After a few years, however, he managed to regain possession of Upper Egypt, and even in Lower Egypt his name was sometimes used in the dating of documents. An inscription of his eighteenth year is found on the road from Kalâbsheh to Tâfeh, and it may be that this was written at the time when he made his first movements towards regaining his Egyptian kingdom after his defeat. Taharḳa has left his name on an altar at Philae, and on a block of stone at Ḳaṣr Ibrîm, and his Egyptian monuments are quite numerous. The next king, Tanutâmen, made a desperate attempt to drive out the Assyrians, and at first his arms were attended with success; but the inevitable defeat followed, Thebes and the Upper Egyptian cities were sacked, and Tanutâmen fled to Napata. With him ended the Ethiopian supremacy in Egypt, and henceforth the negro kingdom extended to the First Cataract only.

A few years later, about B.C. 625, a king of Nubia named Aspelta, who was probably a descendant of Tanutâmen, erected a stele at Napata, from which one learns that at this time the kings of Nubia were elected by six nobles, their choice being ratified by the priesthood of Amen. Contemporary with Amasis II of Egypt reigned the Nubian king Ḥorseâtef, and a long list of his conquests in the Sudân is preserved. Amongst the holy shrines mentioned by him is that of Rå of Meḥe, which may perhaps be *Måha* or Abu Simbel. Another Nubian sovereign named Nâstasen seems to have been the king who defeated the expedition sent by Cambyses to Nubia in B.C. 525. The names of several other kings are known, but their reigns cannot be dated, and can only be said to have been before the Greek supremacy in B.C. 332. It is probable that these kings did not exert much control over Lower Nubia, nor, on the other hand, did the kings of Egypt. The names of neither sovereigns are found between Philae and the Second Cataract. At the former place Nectanebus II built a shrine, and there are inscriptions on the rocks which indicate that the sacred islands were regarded as Egyptian property. The shrines and temples of Lower Nubia at this time fell into ruins, and remained unrepaired. At Dendûr two chieftains, named Petisis and Pehorus, rose into momentary fame, and were later worshipped as demigods; and it is possible that Mandulis of Kalâbsheh was also one of the heroes of this period. The Nubians at this time had almost lost the civilization which they had derived from the Egyptians, and had passed into a state of splendid barbarity. Tales of their wealth and of their strength began to drift into Egypt, and soon Ethiopia became a land where giants and demigods lived. When Cambyses, for example, sent some gifts, including a bow, to the King of Nubia, that sovereign sent back an enormous Ethiopian bow, with a message stating that Cambyses must not attempt to invade his country until his troops could draw a bow of that size. Cambyses' envoys told wonderful tales of the physical strength of the Nubians, and of their wealth. The gold-mines were, no doubt, worked by them; and this must have been a constant source of riches. They were said to reach the age of 120 years; and it is quite possible that they actually were very long-lived. In Lower Nubia the petty princes

no doubt held the power, and recognized the authority of the government at Napata.

On the accession of the Ptolemaic dynasty Lower Nubia soon began to claim the attention of Egypt. Although the Ethiopian power extended in its full force only as far north as the Second Cataract, the most of the gold which came in by the Lower Nubian mine-roads was now sent to Napata, and the district round Dakkeh and Ḳubbân was one of the busy centres from which it was dispatched. Contemporary with Ptolemy II of Egypt there was reigning in Ethiopia a young king whom the Greeks called Ergamenes, and whose Egyptian name was Arḳâmen. He had been educated at the Ptolemaic court, and he had there learnt to think as did the Western world of the time. Consequently he very soon offended the priesthood of his country, and they, acting on some ancient barbaric custom, ordered him to put himself to death. Ergamenes, however, did not stand in awe of the priests as did his ancestors; and he immediately marched a body of troops to the temple and cut the throats of the whole priestly community. This act seems to have rendered his position dangerous in Upper Nubia, and very soon afterwards he is found reigning as king of Lower Nubia, his southern frontier being the island of Takômpso, the modern Derâr, near Maḥâraḳa, and his northern being at the First Cataract. Dakkeh was his capital, and thus he had command of the caravan routes to the mines. Philae and the neighbourhood appears to have been neutral ground, and here Ptolemy and Ergamenes could meet in friendship. This little kingdom was known as the land of the Twelve Schoinoi, a schoinos being usually reckoned as $7\frac{1}{2}$ miles. It was the same district which, according to tradition, King Zeser of the Third Dynasty had given to the priests of Philae. It was less than half of Lower Nubia; and the reader will see that at Kalâbsheh the territory of Isis is reckoned at one stage during this period as extending from the First to the Second Cataract. It was, however, a rich country, and included some of the largest towns in Lower Nubia.

Ergamenes at once commenced to beautify his new capital, and he built on the site of the ruined temple of the Eighteenth Dynasty a shrine dedicated to Thoth of *Penubs*, i. e. 'the Place of the Sycamore', a name which he had given to that part of his capital where now stand the ruins of the temple of Maḥâraḳa. It is possible that the place had been so named in memory of the Penubs of Upper Nubia over which he had reigned. By this time Ptolemy II and his successor, Ptolemy III, were both dead, and the throne of Egypt was occupied by Ptolemy IV. This king now paid Ergamenes the compliment of building on to the temple of Dakkeh; and after a few years Ergamenes returned the kindness by restoring the buildings of Ptolemy IV at Philae. The two kings, who may well have been comrades, are thus seen to have worked hand in hand for the good of their country; but when they both grew old there seems to have been much friction. Ptolemy V, the next king, is found to have mutilated the cartouches of Ergamenes at Philae, and it is probable that he claimed the temple as Egyptian property. The next Nubian king, Azkhârâmen, was, at all events, obliged to build his temple at Dabôd, which is a short distance from Philae. At this time Upper Egypt was in a very troubled condition, and it was not till well on in the reign of Ptolemy V

that matters again became settled. At Philae an inscription of Ptolemy VI states that that king, in his twenty-fourth year, presented the land of the Twelve Schoinoi to Isis of Philae, and from this it is seen that, when the Nubian troubles had come to an end and the Nubian king Åzkhårâmen was dead, the little kingdom was handed over to the administration of the Philae priesthood and ceased to be an independent state. Ptolemy VII found everything quite peaceful, and was able to add an inscription to the temple at Dabôd. He also left his mark on the island of Ḥesseh, just above Philae. Ptolemy IX dedicated a shrine at Dabôd, and he also built at Dakkeh. Ptolemy X undertook a little building at Kalâbsheh; but by this time the Ethiopians were again becoming aggressive on the southern frontier, and there does not seem any longer to have been an energetic administration of the Twelve Schoinoi between this and Philae.

With the advent of the Romans Lower Nubia came in for considerable attention. Under Augustus the great temple of Kalâbsheh was built, and the temples of Dabôd, Dendûr, and Dakkeh were added to. Cornelius Gallus, the Roman prefect of Egypt, invited Ethiopian ambassadors to meet him, and it was arranged that the 'Land of the Thirty Schoinoi', i. e. from the First to the Second Cataract should remain Ethiopian, but should be under Roman protection.[1] It was probably about this period that the inscription was written on the rocks in the Bâb el Kalâbsheh stating that Isis owned these Thirty Schoinoi. Very shortly after this, however, the Ethiopians, under their one-eyed queen, Kandake, decided that the Roman protectorate was not conducive to their happiness; and, while the Egyptian prefect, Aelius Gallus, was otherwise engaged, they collected an army of 30,000 men, captured all the Nubian outposts, and established themselves at Aswân itself. Gaius Petronius, the new prefect, with a force of 10,000 infantry and 800 cavalry defeated them and drove them back to Dakkeh, where in a pitched battle he utterly routed them. Many of the flying negroes ran through the town of Ḳûrteh, and clinging to rafts and pieces of wood made their way across the river to the island of Derâr. The remainder retreated to Ḳaṣr Ibrîm, and when Petronius had driven them out of that fortress they retired to Napata, where they finally capitulated. No sooner was his back turned, however, than Kandake again resumed the offensive, and had to be defeated once more. Petronius then organized the district from the First Cataract to Derâr as a military province, and returned to Egypt. For a short time he also kept a garrison of 400 men at Ḳaṣr Ibrîm, building a fortress on the hill-top, and supplying it with provisions for two years.

For many years Lower Nubia now remained unharrassed, and there is every indication that the country enjoyed the greatest prosperity. The names of various emperors are found in the temples, and considerable building works were undertaken. According to the Itinerary of Antoninus the Roman military stations were now listed as follows:—

West Bank.	From Contra Syene	to Parembole	16	Roman miles.
	,, Parembole	,, Tzitzi	2	,, ,,
	,, Tzitzi	,, Taphis	14	,, ,,

[1] The various texts are contradictory, and the arrangement is not altogether clear.

	From Taphis	to Talmis	8	Roman miles.	
	„ Talmis	„ Tutzis	20	„	„
	„ Tutzis	„ Pselcis	12	„	„
	„ Pselcis	„ Corte	4	„	„
	„ Corte	„ Hierasycaminos	4	„	„
East Bank.	„ Syene	„ Philae	3	„	„
	„ Philae	„ Contra Taphis	24	„	„
	„ Contra Taphis	„ Contra Talmis	10	„	„
	„ Contra Talmis	„ Contra Pselcis	24	„	„

The most important strategic point was the Bâb or Pass of Kalâbsheh. At Kalâbsheh was the station of Talmis commanding the south end of the pass ; and at Tâfeh were the stations of Taphis and Contra Taphis guarding its north end. Here large bodies of troops were collected, and one sees at the modern Tâfeh how the officers attempted to make themselves comfortable in this distant land, forcing the natives to build them houses of hewn stone for the sake of coolness, and erecting pavilions on the top of the cliffs at the point where the view is finest and the wind blows most freshly.

This state of security, however, could not last. For some time the wild tribes of the eastern desert, known as the Blemmyes, had begun to intrude themselves into the northern part of Lower Nubia, and by the reign of Probus in A.D. 276 they had extended their influence over the whole of Lower Nubia and the Thebaid. The Roman force in this part of the country had now been reduced in numbers, and when Diocletian became emperor he was obliged to vacate the whole of Lower Nubia, and to fix his frontier at Aswân. The Blemmyes made Kalâbsheh their capital, and many of their tombs are to be seen on the hills around. Meanwhile Diocletian invited the Nobadae, a wandering tribe of the western desert, perhaps related to the ancient Mazoi, to settle between Kalâbsheh and Thebes, and he offered them an annual subsidy on condition that they kept the Blemmyes in check. This arrangement seems to have worked well until the days of Marcianus, A.D. 450, when the Blemmyes are again found raiding the Thebaid. The general Maximinus, however, thoroughly defeated them, and they were glad to make the best terms they could. It was agreed that there should be peace for a period of one hundred years, that all Roman prisoners should be released, that an indemnity should be paid, and that hostages should be handed over. The Blemmyes, on their part, were allowed to visit the temple of Philae, and on certain occasions to take the statue of Isis into their own country, returning it undamaged at the end of the fixed period.

This peace, however, was not kept for long, and they were defeated once more, this time by the Roman prefect Florus. When Justinianus I (A.D. 527) came to the throne he ordered the temple of Isis at Philae to be destroyed, the Blemmyes' adoration of that goddess being offensive to his religious ideas. The priests were imprisoned, the statues were carried to Constantinople, and, of course, the Blemmyes revolted. A short time later the Romans evacuated Egypt, and the Blemmyes and Nobadae were left supreme in Lower Nubia.

During this and the following periods large numbers of Christian monks had

erected monasteries in various parts of Lower Nubia, and most of the temples were converted into churches. There had even been Christian kings of Nubia, and one of these, named Silko, records how he defeated the Blemmyes, and penetrated as far as Tâfeh and Kalâbsheh. Another king, named Eīspanōmē, sent a certain Abraham to found a Christian church at Dendûr. These Christians had a difficult time in 640 when the Muhammedans conquered Egypt, and many were converted to the doctrine of Islam. In their monasteries many of them lived most rigorous lives, and at Medîk one may still see traces of one of their settlements in which the huts of the monks are barely big enough to permit of them lying down. Some of the ruins, however, are situated at points where the scenery is finest, and the buildings are large and comfortable. In 1173 the brother of Saladin penetrated to Nubia and massacred the Christians, or turned them out of their monasteries. He forced the survivors to pay a poll-tax, and he took from them the provinces at the north end of Lower Nubia. Some of the Christian communities now sought refuge in the south, joining themselves to the Abyssinian Church which had been founded many centuries before. Lower Nubia became more or less Muhammedan, and seems generally to have acknowledged the rule of Egypt. The Mamelukes at the beginning of the nineteenth century fortified themselves in various parts of Lower Nubia, but were driven southwards by Ibrahîm Pasha. During the next half century Lower Nubia was ruled by a native prince, who lived at Derr. In the eighties the country became prominent as the basis of the Anglo-Egyptian operations against the Sudân, and on January 19, 1899 it was placed under the jurisdiction of the Mudir, or Governor of Aswân, its southern frontier being fixed at the village of Adendân, some 40 kilometres north of Wâdy Hâlfa, the capital of the northernmost province of the Sudân.

At the present day the people of Lower Nubia still retain many of their ancient customs, and there is every indication that a study of their habits and folk-lore would be of great value to archaeology. Large numbers of the male population act as servants in Lower Egypt, and it is perhaps as a result of this that the houses which they build on their return home are far more elaborate than those of the fellahîn of Egypt. These houses, however, are not decorated in that cheap and gaudy Greek style so commonly adopted by the native who has made some money. They are either whitewashed or plastered with smooth mud, and a decoration of brickwork of archaic form is built into the walls. It is customary to place a dish or saucer over the doorway as an ornament. On the door-lintels an elaborate decoration in whitewash is often painted, and this in its simpler forms is so like the head of an ox, that one may perhaps suppose that it is derived from the well-known custom of hanging a bull's or sheep's skull over the doorway. Many of these skulls, prepared for hanging up, have been found in the so-called 'Pan-graves' and the custom is a very general one. Bulls' skulls are hung on doorways in Malta; amulets of bull's-head form are placed over doors in Spain; large bronze bulls' heads are hung on buildings in Majorca; and bulls' skulls are fixed to fruit trees in Sicily and Algiers. A representation of a similar custom in archaic Egypt has been found at Hieraconpolis (Plate VIII), while in the tombs of the Eighteenth Dynasty the king's canopy has a bull's head hung over the entrance. The villages are generally much cleaner

than those of Egypt, and their situation usually makes them extremely picturesque. The people, too, are cleaner than the Egyptian fellahîn ; and the women, who in parts of Lower Nubia wear white linen dresses draped over one shoulder and held in at the waist, have a far finer appearance than their sisters in Egypt. These dresses, and the curious manner in which they do their hair, remind one of the ancient Egyptian women as they are known in paintings and sculpture. In Lower Nubia it is the custom for the husband to go to the wife's house after marriage, instead of the wife going to the husband's house as in Egypt. This is perhaps an ancient custom descending from the Pharaonic days when women were the legal owners of property. One still sometimes sees the men carrying a short spear in place of the Egyptian *nabût* or staff; and a heavy club something in the form of a hockey-stick is often carried. This weapon is very commonly represented in ancient Egyptian scenes, and noticeably it is the weapon carried by the crouching figure which forms the early hieroglyph for 'soldier'. The pottery used in Lower Nubia, as will be seen in the next section, is extremely ancient in form, and the baskets carried on the women's heads constantly call to mind the ancient Egyptian scenes.

It is not intended, however, to enter now into any kind of description of the inhabitants of this interesting country, but these few remarks will perhaps be sufficient to show that a study of their manners and customs is urgently required. These customs are so fast dying out, and, when the water is raised, they will so quickly disappear, owing to the dispersion of the people, that there is very urgent need for their recording. Perhaps the most serious objection which can be made to the presence of the reservoir in Lower Nubia is that the raising of the water has led to the routing out of the inhabitants from the ancient mode of life before that life had been studied. These people have stagnated for so long that they have retained their old customs for a greater period of time than have any other of the races of Egypt. Their removal from their homes and their migration into other countries before an adequate study of their manners and customs had been made, is a matter to be deplored; but it is to be hoped that just as the constructing of the reservoir here was urgently necessary for Egyptian agriculture, so the study of this historic people which it disperses will be considered now as urgently necessary for Egyptian archaeology.

THE 'PAN-GRAVES'

THE cemeteries found in Lower Nubia may be classed roughly under three heads: Dynastic Egyptian, Graeco-Roman, and 'Pan-grave'. There are very few tombs of the first class known in the country[1]; and the Graeco-Roman cemeteries, though numerous, are not found as frequently as are the cemeteries of the variety known as 'Pan-grave'. It will be necessary first to explain what is meant by this term.

While excavating at Hew some years ago, Prof. Petrie and Mr. Mace discovered a number of tombs which, from their shallow oval or circular form, they called 'Pan-graves'. These graves were cut in the hard marl, and contained skeletons, either placed in the archaic contracted position or else dismembered, and pottery of four varieties. The first of these varieties was of a fabric which is commonly found in prehistoric times. The ware is thin and brittle; the outer surface is haematitic red, except around the mouth, where it is blackened to a depth of an inch, more or less; the inside surface is black; and both inside and outside the pot is highly polished. This variety of pottery, as found in the 'Pan-graves', however, did not show the archaic forms very closely. The second variety was that fine black ware, found in archaic times, upon which a pattern is pricked, the holes being filled with white pigment. The third variety was more coarse. The ware was rough, and hatched or diagonal patterns were heavily scratched upon the surface. The fourth variety was pure Egyptian, and consisted of pots which could be definitely assigned to Egyptian fabrics of the Thirteenth Dynasty. A few other Egyptian objects of this period were also found in the graves, such as kohl pots, beads, baskets, &c. Near the graves there were large deposits of animals' skulls: goats, gazelles, sheep, oxen, calves, &c.; and most of these were flattened at the back, and covered with a decoration of lines and dots coloured black and red, as though they had been hung up as an ornamentation. Graves of dogs were also found beside the human burials, just as they were in the archaic cemeteries of Neḳâdeh. Prof. Petrie's conclusions as to the origin of these people were not pressed very far at the time. He believed them to be a barbaric, nomad people of the western desert, who were akin to the prehistoric Egyptians, and who had retained the archaic customs as late as the Thirteenth Dynasty.

Shortly after this, Prof. Sayce found the pottery of these people at Ed Dêr, opposite Esneh; and in 1902 Lady William Cecil discovered a few specimens at Aswân. In 1905 Mr. Ayrton found traces of the pottery opposite Daraw; and in the same year Mr. John Garstang met with indications of it in the Esneh-Edfu district. In 1906 Mr. Hall and Mr. Ayrton observed a plundered 'Pan-grave' cemetery opposite Karnak; and at about the same time M. Legrain discovered at the east side of Karnak temple a few fragments of 'Pan-grave' pottery.

[1] Mr. D. Randall MacIver's excavations at 'Amâda in 1906–7 have revealed the existence of much late dynastic remains buried beneath the sand.

The present writer, therefore, became interested in the question, and during the rides over the desert necessitated by the inspection of outlying cemeteries, a large number of graves of this class were located, and many fragments of the pottery were collected and drawn in facsimile. Between Farshût and Aswân 'Pan-graves' were observed at some twenty places along the western desert. These cemeteries were all plundered, and nothing could be ascertained as regards the customs of the people without excavation. It was, however, in most cases clear, and in all cases probable, that the cemeteries were to be dated to the XIIth-XIIIth Dynasties, for fragments of Egyptian pottery of this date were generally found together with the 'Pan-grave' varieties.

So far one was only able to say that these people had settled in various parts of the western desert of Upper Egypt during the XIIth-XIIIth Dynasties; and most probably had taken the opportunity of the weakness of the government at the end of this period to make these incursions. But now the writer found inside the fortified town of El Kab an enormous number of fragments of 'Pan-grave' pottery, and this gave the question an entirely new aspect. The presence of the 'Pan-grave' tribes inside the city could be interpreted in only three ways: (i) El Kab being the seat of the Viceroy of the South, there might here have been a large number of southern merchants, servants, slaves, &c., and this variety of pottery might have been made by them; (ii) the fortress might have been actually captured in an invasion of Egypt during the Thirteenth Dynasty; or (iii) the 'Pan-grave' tribes might have been employed as soldiers in the fortress. This last solution of the question appeared to be the most likely, and since the mercenary troops of the Egyptians were known to have been in many cases Nubians of the Mazoi and other tribes, it seemed possible that the 'Pan-grave' tribes were of Lower Nubian origin.

When the writer visited Lower Nubia, therefore, a very careful search was made for traces of these tribes; and the results were most surprising. Along the western desert from the neighbourhood of Gerf Ḥusên to that of Anâybeh 'Pan-grave' cemeteries were found at intervals of a few miles, while here and there scattered fragments showed the location of settlements and villages. The chief centres at which the graves were found were Koshtâmneh, Dakkeh, 'Amâda, and Anâybeh. South of this there were other cemeteries, but they did not occur so frequently; although at Tôshkeḥ there were large cemeteries on both banks of the river. A fundamental difference between the 'Pan-graves' of Lower Nubia and those of Upper Egypt was soon noticed: that whereas the latter only seemed to date from the XIIth-XIIIth Dynasties, the former appeared to date from the Old Kingdom down to Ramesside times, and perhaps later. It was thus seen at once that the 'Pan-grave' tribes in Upper Egypt represented a settlement of a limited period, while those in Lower Nubia showed a permanent habitation of the country.

Having decided, then, that these tribes were inhabitants of the western desert of Lower Nubia who had settled in various parts of Upper Egypt in the Thirteenth Dynasty, and who had probably been employed as soldiers in the fortress of El Kab during the XIIth–XIIIth Dynasties, it was now necessary to search the fortresses of Lower Nubia for fragments of their pottery. The great fortress of Ḳubbân was found to contain Egyptian pottery fragments of

the XIIth–XIXth Dynasties and later, and also large quantities of 'Pan-grave' fragments. The fortress at Koshtâmneh, although half buried in sand, was productive of several fragments of this pottery; while outside the walls there were extensive cemeteries of 'Pan-graves'. Precisely the same is to be said of Anâybeh, there being near the fortress some hundreds of 'Pan-graves'. Unfortunately the great fortresses of the Second Cataract, not being within the writer's inspectorate, have not been searched.

With this evidence of the warlike tendencies of the 'Pan-grave' races in mind it was necessary to look again at the cemeteries of Upper Egypt, and it was then seen that in nearly every case the graves were found at strategically important military posts. At Hew, where Prof. Petrie made the original discovery of these tribes, there was in Roman times a large fortress, and an earlier building probably existed there. At Karnak there may have been a garrison, in the Middle Kingdom, in connexion with the temple, just as there certainly was in later times. At Edfu, where large quantities of these graves were found, there was probably a garrison; and opposite Daraw there was no doubt a garrison in connexion with the great caravan route which runs from this point to the Oases and to Nubia.

It has been shown on page 8 that the Lower Nubian tribes, known as the Mazoi, were frequently used as mercenary troops by the Egyptians; and it has been further pointed out that these Mazoi are to be located in that part of Lower Nubia in which the 'Pan-graves' are mainly found. One was thus led inevitably to the conclusion that the 'Pan-grave' tribes were to be identified with the Mazoi or allied Lower Nubian tribes; and their movements were interpreted in the following manner. In archaic times these tribes, who were closely connected with the Egyptians, were pushed southward into Lower Nubia, where they carried on archaic customs. As early as the Sixth Dynasty they were used as troops, and when the great military enterprises of the Twelfth Dynasty were undertaken, they were recruited as garrisons for all the great fortresses and fortified towns of the south. During the troubled times between the Thirteenth and Eighteenth Dynasties these troops naturally settled in various parts of Upper Egypt; but as soon as the Government gained control they were forced to return to Lower Nubia. A few were still employed in Egypt as troops, and it is known that the Mazoi supplied the police for Tell el Amârna during the reign of Akhenâten. But these expatriated tribes soon lost their original customs, and adopted Egyptian pottery. Meanwhile their brothers in Lower Nubia continued to live along the western bank of the river, retaining their individuality for several centuries longer. At Tôshkeh (Plate LXVI) an inscription was found which was made by the king's *Mazoi*, i. e. warrior or hunter; and a fragment of 'Pan-grave' pottery was discovered at the foot of the inscription, which was in a somewhat inaccessible place. This may, perhaps, be regarded as a further indication of the connexion between the 'Pan-grave' tribes and the Mazoi. How far this conclusion appears to be correct must be decided by the archaeologist. The present writer does not yet venture to exchange the catchy name of 'Pan-grave' for that of 'the Mazoi Tribes' or 'the Lower Nubian Race', both of which at once suggest themselves.

Having now sketched out the general lines on which the identification of the Mazoi, or some other Lower Nubian tribe, with the 'Pan-grave' is based, it is necessary to state briefly the conclusions which have been arrived at as to the

racial position of the tribes. The way will then be clear for the closer examination of the material. One of the characteristic features of the archaic tribes of Egypt is their use of the above-mentioned black-mouthed haematitic red pottery. At this period there are also found a few specimens of an un-Egyptian ware which is black in colour, and has a white pattern pricked or incised upon it. This latter ware shows some striking connexions with Negro fabrics, Libyan fabrics, and even with the fabrics of Europe in the Bronze Age. The red polished ware ceases to be found in Egypt after the prehistoric period or a little later; but the black ware turns up in one form and another for many centuries longer. In certain parts of Lower Nubia, for example at Koshtâmneh and 'Amâda (Cemetery 5), cemeteries are found in which the black-mouthed, red-polished variety predominates, and is mixed with some of the other well-known types of prehistoric pottery. Here, however, the black incised fabrics do not occur, or, at any rate, are not common. The shapes of the red-polished pots are quite different from the archaic Egyptian shapes in this ware, and they appear to be a development from them. One thus supposed that these cemeteries dated from the Old Kingdom, retaining the fabrics and some of the shapes of the archaic Egyptian period. The majority of the cemeteries, however, are to be dated to a later period than this. The black-mouthed polished red ware still continues as before, the shapes having altered, but the fabric remaining unchanged. Besides the neat black incised pottery there is now a vast quantity of pots of a rather rough incised ware, brown, red, or black in colour, and having the patterns scratched, pricked, and punched upon the surface. These patterns take all manner of forms, and these will be able to be studied from the facsimile drawings of the fragments. This class of pottery is undoubtedly connected with the fabrics of Middle and North Africa, and the Mediterranean. Ordinary Egyptian pottery of the XIIth–XVIIIth Dynasties is now found with the burials. One sees, then, that at this period there must have been an energetic renewal of the relationship between the 'Pan-grave' tribes and that race which originally created the black incised pottery of archaic times, and now used this rougher development of the ware. This may be explained in two ways. First, as 'Pan-grave' pottery belongs obviously to the western bank of the river, it is natural to look towards the Oases as the home of these neighbours. In this way, too, the North African and European relations might be easily accounted for, since a constant stream of caravans kept the southern Oases, such as El Khârgeh, in touch with the Libyans of the coast. In the Sixth Dynasty the Temeḥu, or Libyans, were inhabiting one of these southern oases, and were fighting with the people of Àam; and it will be remembered that the Egyptians recruited them as soldiers. Under Sesostris I an official, whose title was 'Commander of the Youth or Recruits', made an expedition to El Khârgeh, and one may perhaps infer that he was at that time engaged in recruiting. One is thus justified in supposing that the Mazoi of the western desert of Lower Nubia, with their polished red pottery, had considerable intercourse with the Temeḥu of El Khârgeh and other oases, with their incised pottery. They fought as soldiers together, and they must have had communication by caravan. This intercourse was at its height during the XIIth–XVIIth Dynasties. In the New Kingdom the pottery shows a complete blending of the two varieties; and one finds the black-mouthed polished red ware decorated with

the incised patterns. This theory could be proved or disproved according as to whether the incised pottery was found in El Khârgeh oasis or not; but unfortunately no excavations have yet been made there. The second explanation is that the incised ware comes from the Sudân, and that the revival of the incised fabrics in Lower Nubia during the Middle Kingdom was due to a renewal of the relations between the 'Pan-grave' races and the Sudânese. Now, it has been seen that Lower Nubia was overrun by negroes from above the Second Cataract in the early Twelfth Dynasty; and this shows that a certain amount of amalgamation between the two peoples' customs must have gone on, although they were hostile to one another. The incised pottery of the 'Pan-graves' may thus have come from the south; but this can be proved or disproved by the finding or not finding of the pottery in the Sudân.

The skulls which the writer brought back from Tôshkeḥ and elsewhere do not prove anything. Most of them are negro, and a few are Egyptian. Fortunately, however, Mr. D. Randall MacIver is this year excavating in Lower Nubia, and the writer has given him a list of the best-known cemeteries, while, doubtless, he will discover others. Thus some definite results may be expected by the time this report is published; but in the meantime one cannot be far wrong in stating that the 'Pan-grave' tribes inhabited the west bank of Lower Nubia, that they were partly negro, and that they had relations with some other tribes not yet identified.

It is now necessary to examine the material in detail. Of the earliest class of 'Pan-grave' cemeteries only one has been found intact. This was at Koshtâmneh, and was excavated in 1906, at the writer's request, by Mr. John Garstang; and, as the results which he obtained have not yet been published, only a few points must be mentioned here. The graves were of the usual oval or circular form, and contained contracted burials. The pottery largely consisted of black-mouthed polished red ware, like that found in archaic times, but the shapes were unlike those of the prehistoric period. There were, however, specimens of purely prehistoric pottery of other fabrics; and there were some ivory objects like those found in archaic times. It thus seems probable that this cemetery is to be dated to some time in the Old Kingdom when the prehistoric forms were still being used, but were in most cases slowly developing and changing. At 'Amâda the writer found a cemetery which was entirely plundered, but from which a large number of broken pots were collected. These are shown in restored form on Plate LXXXVII. They are almost all of the black-mouthed and polished haematitic red variety, and are most delicately formed. Amongst them was one fragment of a wavy-handled jar (No. 22), such as is so often found in the archaic period. But there was also a fragment of incised ware which seemed to suggest a rather later date. Some almost similar fragments were found by De Morgan in an Old Kingdom tomb at Dashûr (De Morgan, Dahchour, Plate XXVII). Moreover, the shapes of the black-mouthed polished red pots were quite unlike those of the prehistoric age. One was, therefore, again led to the conclusion that the date of this cemetery was later than the prehistoric age, although prehistoric forms were found in it. This conclusion was confirmed by the discovery at Tôshkeḥ of graves containing XIIth–XVIIIth Dynasty shapes mixed with prehistoric shapes, but this will be recorded later. The graves at 'Amâda, as far as could be told in the chaotic state of the cemetery as left by the robbers, were usually oval in form,

and were cut in the hard earth which underlies the sand. Large slabs of stone were placed over the graves, and a pile of stones was raised on top. A sketch of one of these graves is shown on Plate LIV. At Maḥâraḳa a group of plundered graves was found, all of which were circular, the mouths being about 0.80 centimetres or a metre in diameter, and the interiors widening into a kind of globe. The fragments of pottery found here indicated that this was also an early cemetery.

At Tôshkeḥ the writer excavated a dozen graves or so on the west bank of the river which must now be described. The cemetery is extensive, and has not been entirely robbed; and the archaeologist who desires to follow up the question of 'Pan-graves' should certainly make this the first point of attack. The graves are generally oval, and are cut in the earth under the sand. Over each grave is a small heap of loose stones, but there are ten or a dozen graves over which stones have been piled in large circular tumuli. The fragments of pottery collected from the surface are shown on Plates XCII–III; and the burials and objects found in the graves are shown on Plate XCIII. As will be seen here the bones are not in natural order, and although this may be due to the robbers, in the case of Tomb H there can be no possibility of doubt that the burial is undisturbed. Here it will be seen that the bones have been arranged in a regular pattern, while two pots and a sheep's head have been placed on the west side of the body. One of these pots is of the black-mouthed polished red class, but the other is quite foreign. It is shown in colour in the Frontispiece; and it will be seen that the ware is black and that the ornamentation is incised and coloured in red and yellow. As to the origin of this curious vessel the writer will await with interest the opinion of the archaeologists. In Tomb M two shell bracelets were found. In Tombs B and F there were parts of an ox's and ram's skull. Near the surface beside Tomb K there was a group of four pots (Nos. 58, 60, 61, 63), and near Tomb A were other pots (Nos. 57 and 59). Tomb B was constructed of small, flattish bricks, the roof being arched. The small vase numbered 62 was found in the sand in this grave; and, as will be seen, its form is archaic, whereas the forms of some of the other pots from this cemetery are of the XIIth–XVIIth Dynasties. Yet there can be little doubt that all the graves in the cemetery are of one period.

At a small hamlet named Shablûl, not far from Korôsko, the writer opened a few tombs; and these are recorded on Plate LXXXV. The graves, as usual, are oval and are dug out of the hard earth. Here the bodies were found to have been placed in the contracted position, but the orientation varied. The graves have been plundered, and this probably accounts for the loss of some of the bones. In some of the graves there were beads of the small blue-glazed variety; and one is inclined to attribute them to the Eighteenth Dynasty. The fragments of pottery from this cemetery have the appearance of being somewhat later than those in the Tôshkeḥ cemetery, for there is usually a combination of the black-mouthed polished red ware and the incised ware, the former being decorated with the ornamentation of the latter. This, however, cannot be said with any certainty. At 'Amâda (Plate A) several fragments of the most delicate pottery were found, the forms and fabric being unmistakably 'Pan-grave'; but the decoration was painted in red instead of being incised. This class is perhaps also of the New Empire.

As regards the other cemeteries of Lower Nubia little requires to be said here. The facsimile drawings of the fragments of pottery require no further description than that given on the plates; while the graves, as far as they can be seen, are always oval or circular and are cut in the hard earth or marl. All the sites are hopelessly plundered, and it will require most careful excavation to find any intact tombs. It is with a feeling of indignation that one observes how recently most of these cemeteries have been robbed.

There is now some fragmentary, though interesting, evidence to be recorded regarding the later developments of the race. At Ḳubbân and Kalâbsheh a few fragments of incised pottery show a red fabric which one would date by eye to some period not earlier than the Twenty-first Dynasty. At Dîmri the water had exposed a small cemetery of Graeco-Roman date, and here and there an oval grave could be seen, in which were bones in a contracted position. Amongst the late types of pottery lying at the edge of the water, the pot shown on Plate XXVII was found. The decoration on this pot reminds one of the 'Pan-grave' pottery, and may well be a survival from it. At Gebel Addeh there is a fortress which seems to date from Roman times, and here were found some fragments of coarse red pottery on which were incised patterns which again called to mind the 'Pan-grave' ornamentation[1] (Plate XCIV). At Farîḳ two fragments, numbered 11 and 15 on Plate XCIII were found, which are certainly of late date. On the hills above Gerf Ḥusên some mediaeval pottery was found standing near a forgotten sheîkh's tomb. This is shown on Plate XXXIV, and some of the old forms will be recognized. The modern pottery now in use in Lower Nubia, and largely made at Kirsh, opposite Gerf Ḥusên, is curiously like the 'Pan-grave' pottery; and there is no reason why it should not also be a survival from ancient times. It must be remembered that even in Coptic times the word *Matoi*, which is a late form of *Mazoi*, was used for 'soldier'; and thus the pottery at the fortress of Gebel Addeh may have a greater significance than one dares at present to give it.

It is now necessary to consider the main characteristics of the 'Pan-grave' tribes. Since they were a desert people it is probable that they did not attempt much cultivation of the ground, and the sandy regions in which they lived along the west bank of the Lower Nubian valley, did not permit of large crops being grown. Great quantities of oxen, sheep, goats, &c., seem to have been kept; and Prof. Petrie found at Hew a single deposit containing 138 goats' skulls, 5 oxen's, 5 calves', and one sheep's. At several places in Lower Nubia the writer found large areas enclosed by slabs of stone standing on end, but containing no fragments of pottery. In each case cemeteries of 'Pan-graves' were situated near by. These enclosures may have been used as stockades in which the herds were kept, when not out at pasture. The villages probably consisted of the lightest booths and tents[2]; for in places where fragments of pottery and ashes from the fires have indicated the sites of settlements, no ruined walls or loose bricks have been found. The painted skulls of animals formed the chief decoration of these booths. The only utensils used were the pots of which they were such successful makers, and a few baskets. A few shells and beads were the only

[1] Recently similar fragments were observed at Ḳaṣr Ibrîm.

[2] Mr. MacIver, however, has now found rough brick and stone buildings of these people.

ornaments worn, and probably a short linen skirt or a goatskin was their only clothing. With their dogs and their bows and arrows they hunted the gazelles and other desert animals. The influx of incised pottery in the Twelfth Dynasty shows that at this period they began to trade considerably with the Oases or the Sudân, and they may have even intermarried with their neighbours. As soldiers they no doubt made excellent scouts, and, like the modern Sudânese, were brave and tenacious.

It was their custom to bury their dead in shallow graves, cut in the hard earth of the low mounds which are generally to be found at the mouth of the valleys. They filled these graves with sand, and heaped stones over them, sometimes standing these on end, and sometimes forming them into orderly tumuli. The dead bodies were either placed in a contracted position, or were dismembered before burial. Deposits, consisting of animals' skulls and pottery, were sometimes placed near the graves. Sometimes the head of a sheep, goat, or ox, was buried with the body. The dogs which guarded the herds and villages were buried in graves near those of their masters.

No more can be said at present regarding these interesting people; and such speculations as have already been made require very close examination. It may be that the identification of the 'Pan-grave' tribes with the Mazoi or some similar Nubian tribe is quite false; but the alternative solutions will not be less startling. Certainly it is for the archaeologist, and not for an inspector, to substitute a racial name for the phrase 'Pan-grave'. Apart, however, from the question of race, these 'Pan-graves' open up once more the subject of the sequence dating of the archaic pottery. Monsieur Maspero has always contended that the 'prehistoric' forms continue into dynastic times, and now if these 'prehistoric' forms are found in the Eighteenth Dynasty, and since they certainly are found in the Old Kingdom, the dating of the graves at Neḳâdeh and elsewhere will be generally questioned. One wonders how much pottery purchased at dealers' shops as archaic is really of the 'Pan-grave' type. It is earnestly to be hoped that the cemeteries of 'Pan-graves' will be thoroughly and scientifically excavated, and that others will be sought for in Middle Egypt, in the Oases, and in the Sudân.

The collection of facsimile drawings of pottery fragments shown on Plates LXXVI–XCIV includes specimens discovered from El Kab southwards as far as the Sudân frontier, for in ancient times Lower Nubia extended as far north as El Kab. The restorations of pots appear on the plates as one-eighth of their original size, while the drawings of the fragments appear as one-half. The restorations have been made from fragments, no whole pots having been found except at Tôshkeḥ (Plate XCIII). The blackening of part of a section of a fragment, as in Plate LXXVI, No. 28, indicates that the blackening around the mouth of the pot extends, on the surface, as far as this point. The original fragments may be seen in the writer's office at Luxor.

N.B. Since writing the above notes on the 'Pan-graves', Mr. D. Randall MacIver has discovered a vast amount of pottery, and many other antiquities, as well as buildings; and under the hand of this expert the problems are sure to receive their final solution. Mr. John Garstang was unable to continue his work in Lower Nubia this winter.

DESCRIPTION OF THE ANTIQUITIES OF LOWER NUBIA[1]

From the Barrage to Dabôd: West Bank.

After leaving the barrage one passes the islands of Aimawarteh and El Ḥesseh on one's left, and then turns towards the south. Some six kilometres are travelled before any graffiti are observed, but at this point there is a group of Middle Kingdom inscriptions, most of which are shown on Plate XVIII, Nos. 2 to 9. No other ancient sites of any kind are to be observed until Dabôd is reached.

From the Barrage to Dabôd: East Bank.

Between the barrage and Dawûd Island there are no antiquities on the west bank. On the rocks opposite this island one small figure is engraved with two or three hieroglyphs against it. Just to the east of this, and some metres higher up, there is a stele numbered 30 by De Morgan; and next to it there is another stele now quite obliterated. From this point the rocks recede into the valley along which runs the railway to Aswân, and an account of the inscriptions which are found upon them does not form part of this report. At Shellal station a granite altar of Psammetichus II was recently unearthed, and the brief inscription, referring to Satis of Elephantine and Khnum of Bîgeh, was recorded by the writer in *Les Annales*. On the east of Shellal station, at the point where the rocks again approach the water, there are some houses; and above them there is a group of about twenty inscriptions, which the writer intends to number 1s—20s (the s standing for Shellal) some time during the coming year. These inscriptions are not of value except in so far as they show the date at which the rocks were used as a place for name-writing. The names Sebekḥotep, Ânteſ, Bebâ, Menthuḥotep, Usermenthu, and other Middle Kingdom names occur, but there is a lack of titles. Much quarrying was carried out here during the building of the barrage, but there is no indication that any damage was done to the inscriptions.

Just to the south of this there is an open bay, mainly under water in winter, in which there is a large enclosure of undressed granite blocks; and near it there is some construction of dressed sandstone blocks. Much Roman pottery lies around, but there are no inscriptions. It is possible that this was a Roman fortress of late times. About a kilometre to the south is a village named Nâga Khafîr, behind which is a rough chamber or cave without inscriptions. On

[1] The transliteration of the place-names as printed on the map accompanying this report is not the same as that used in the text; but the reader will have no difficulty in identifying any two spellings.

the rocks four figures and a cow are drawn. Near the river's edge at low water a granite altar is to be seen, which is said to have originally stood on Philae island. A winged disk, a figure of Hapi, and some obliterated inscriptions are to be seen on one side of it. To the south of the village there are traces of a Roman or Byzantine cemetery, now destroyed. On the hill there is a fortress, consisting of enclosure walls of rough stone running up the hill-side and along the top, a few round and rectangular towers, and some buildings of stone or crude brick inside the enclosure. Somewhat further to the south are two mediaeval mosques known as Medinet el Belâl. These mosques are extremely picturesque, and are particularly interesting as specimens of the pure native architecture. The lower part of the walls is partly built of stone blocks taken from Philae, and having some hieroglyphs upon them. Opposite the south end of the island of El Ḥesseh there is an inscription dating from the fifth year of the reign of Merenrâ of the Sixth Dynasty, and stating that the Nubian princes had come to do homage to him.[1] After this there are no ancient remains until Dabôd is passed.

Konosso Island.

The numerous inscriptions on this little island, which lies just to the north of the direct route from Shellal station to Philae, need not be described here at length, as they have all been catalogued and published by M. de Morgan in his *Catalogue des Monuments*. There are here to be seen the great inscription of Thoutmosis IV[2] relating to his Nubian war, the cartouches of Neferâbrâ Psammetichus and Apries, and the names of various persons of the XIIIth-XVIIIth Dynasties, and later. The well-known inscriptions of Neferḥotep are found here; and the stele of Amenophis III (Breasted, *Records*, ii, 845). As there seem to be a few errors in M. de Morgan's work it would be as well if his copies were collated, for the raising of the water in the Reservoir will entirely flood the originals, and in a few years they will be very hard to read. Some quarrying of the granite on this island has taken place, but apparently no damage has been done to the inscriptions.

Dawûd Island.

This island lies near the main land just to the north of Konosso. The few inscriptions here, dating from the late Middle Kingdom, have all been recorded by M. de Morgan, and need not here be noted. Quarrying has taken place here, but no inscriptions have been harmed. In future this quarrying will be confined to places which have no ancient associations.

Bîgeh Island.

The large and rocky island of Bîgeh lies just to the west of Philae. On the north-west side of the island, opposite the island of Salîb there is a rock on which are cut ten small figures, apparently representing a family of persons

[1] Sayce, *Recueil*, xv, 147; Sethe, *Urkunden*, i, 110.

[2] Bouriant, *Recueil*, xv, 178–9; De Morgan, *Catalogue*, 66, 67; Breasted, *Records*, ii, 823.

worshipping a group of gods. On the same rock there are the figures of three gods, of which two seem to be Khnum and Isis. Beside them there is a rough and much damaged Greek inscription (2 B)[1] reading (1)[illegible]YNMA(2)CAPΠIΩN (3)Π[illegible]XH////IC(4)KAITΩNAΔEΛΦΩN(5)AYTOY. Many of the rocks at the north end of the island have been quarried for the building of the barrage, but no inscriptions seem to have been damaged. Opposite the north end of the temple of Isis at Philae is an inscription (3 B) giving the cartouches of Amasis II, and his Horus-name, beloved of Khnum of Senem. Above this (4 B) are the cartouches of Neferâbrâ Psammetichus, and his Horus-name. On the same rock, immediately under these cartouches, is an inscription (5 B) stating that Prince Khâmwast celebrated the jubilee of Rameses II for the first time in the thirtieth year, for the second time in the thirty-fourth year, and for the third time in the thirty-seventh year. A space has been left for the recording of later jubilees, but these have never been added. The inscription relating to the third jubilee reads &c., and the fourth stroke after the tens is rather indistinct. Champollion therefore read it 'Year 36,' and Brugsch, adding the three strokes of the 'Third time,' read it 39, which reading was copied by Wiedemann (*Aegyptische Geschichte*, 465). The inscription has been published by Champollion, *Notices*, i, 162 ; by Sharpe, *Egyptian Inscriptions*, ii, 58 ; by Young, *Hieroglyphics*, 42 ; by Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, Text IV, 175 ; by Brugsch, *Receuil*, ii, 83, 3 ; and it is translated by Breasted, *Records*, iii, 553. Further to the south, opposite the colonnade of the temple of Philae are the cartouches of Apries, beloved of Hathor of Senem (6 B). The following nine inscriptions form part of the same group. The cartouche of Nebmaârâ [Amenophis III], together with a figure of a man with an inscription stating that the Vizir Ramosis came to make offerings to all the gods of Senem (7 B). The figure of a priest with the inscription 'The priest of Anukis, Khnumhotep' (8 B). An inscription reading 'The Viceroy of Kush Messuy' (9 B). The cartouche of Usermaârâ-setepnrâ (Rameses II) followed by the words 'The *Sem*-priest Prince Khâmwast' (10 B and 11 B). A well-executed figure of a priest in low relief with the inscription 'The High Priest of Anukis Âmenophis' (12 B). An inscription reading as before 'The *Sem*-priest Prince Khâmwast' (13 B). The figure of a man holding a wand of office accompanied by the cartouche of Nebmaârâ and the inscription 'The Viceroy of Kush Merimosis' (14 B). A line of small, damaged hieroglyphs giving the name of an official which is very difficult to read (15 B).

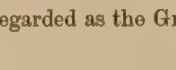
On the rocks above this group of inscriptions there is a small mediaeval monastery built of crude brick. There are three rooms with vaulted roofs, more or less intact ; and a stairway, under which is a closet, leads to an upper story, now ruined. The ruins of what may have been the church stand on the north side of this building. Descending to a point below the group of inscriptions, one finds a few other inscriptions just behind the walls of the modern houses, and half buried in refuse. The first of this group reads 'The *wâb*-priest Mây, made by the *wâb*-priest Usersatis' (16 B). Next there are ten small figures, accompanied

[1] The numbers refer to the numerals which the writer intends to place against the inscriptions during the coming year if time permits.

by quite unreadable inscriptions, and probably representing a New Empire family (17 B). Near this is a large inscription of 'The Viceroy of Kush Hwy', and a figure of a man is shown holding a crook and wand of office (18 B). Near this is a figure with hands raised, and an inscription reading 'The Priest of Khnum, User' (19 B). Upside down, and built into the wall of a house, is a stele, on which a Nineteenth Dynasty figure stands with hands raised, accompanied by an inscription giving a prayer to Khnum for the *Ka* of the 'Commander of the Archers of Kush, Nekht-Min', and for 'the Commander of the Archers, the Superintendent of the Lands of the South, Pen-nesu-tawi' (20 B). Another inscription built into the wall refers to a High Priest of Åmen, but it is impossible to see it properly. Ascending the rocks again to a point just behind 15 B, one finds an inscription (21 B) reading 'The priest of Khnum, Thoutmosis', and beside it is a figure of that personage. Near this is a large figure with an unreadable inscription beside it (22 B). Further to the south, opposite the south end of the Island of Philae, and at the north side of a valley, is an interesting inscription giving the cartouches of Amenophis III, and the words: 'the Royal Scribe, the Truth of his Lord, the Commander of the Troops of the Lord of the Two Lands, Amenophis,' and 'the Superintendent of the Great Palace in Memphis, Amenophis'. Two figures are shown with hands raised (23 B). Near this is the figure of the Vizir Ramosis (?) and the cartouche of Nebmaårå (24 B).

The Temple.

The temple of Bîgeh is situated on the east of the island, opposite the colonnade of the temple of Philae. It consists of a quay at the water's edge, a doorway some distance back, an open court, and a pronaos, the rest of the temple being now lost. The quay walls are in a somewhat dangerous state and threaten to fall forward into the river in part. A pink granite altar lies half buried on the terrace. The first doorway is in a partly ruined condition, but it does not seem to require any restoration for the present. The reliefs on this doorway show 'Autocrator Caesar' before Harendotes of Abaton,[1] Isis of the Southern Lands, Horus, Nephthys of Abaton, Khnum of Senem, Neith, Thoth of Senem, Sekhmet of Senem, Horus of Edfu, Hathor of On, and other deities now destroyed. A Roman masonry arch has been built into the doorway. In the court which is now entered there are modern houses, and built into one of the walls there is a pink granite altar, having upon it a dedicatory inscription of a Ptolemy, whose cartouche is not clear, and his queen. The pronaos is entered by a doorway, on each side of which rises a pillar with an elaborate capital. These pillars are connected with two others by screen walls, partly built into the houses. On the east side of these walls Ptolemy XIII Neos Dionysos is represented before Unnefer, Khnum of Senem, Isis, and other gods. On the doorway some smaller reliefs show him before Isis, Harendotes, Hathor, Harpocrates, Horus of Edfu, and Isis of Abaton. On the west face of the walls the king is seen leaving his palace, wearing on the north side the crown of Lower Egypt, and on the south side the crown of Upper Egypt. Before him are the four usual standards. Further on he is blessed by Hathor of Senem. The houses cover the area on which the rest of the temple stood. On the north side

[1] *Abaton* is here regarded as the Greek name of the Egyptian  .

of the temple is a broken seated statue in pink granite inscribed with the cartouches and titles of Menkheperrâ Thoutmosis III. In a house of one of the natives, adjoining the temple, there is a granite altar having upon it the cartouches of one of the Ptolemies. A statue bearing the cartouches of Amenophis II used to lie at the back of the temple, but the present writer did not find any trace of it.

History

As will be seen from the inscriptions and the remains of statues of Amenophis II and Thoutmosis II, the island was already sacred in the Eighteenth Dynasty. There is, however, nothing to show that it was regarded with particular reverence before that date. In the tomb of Rekhmârâ at Thebes mention is made of the commandant of the fortress of Bîgeh, but no trace of the fortress remains. In ancient times it was called Senem, or Senmet; and at Philae and elsewhere constant mention is made of the gods of Senem. Khnum and Hathor were the chief of these, but Isis and the other favourite gods of Philae are often described as being of Senem. At Philae Nectanebus dedicated a temple to 'all the gods of Senem'. The scenes in Hadrian's Gateway at Philae show that in the Roman age Bîgeh was regarded as one of the sources of the Nile. In a cave under the rocks the Nile god was thought to live, guarded by a serpent which encircled the chamber. The sanctity of Philae is of much later date than is that of Bîgeh; and thus the latter island has an interest which one must not overlook. For this reason, before the barrage is raised, some restorations should be made in the small temple so that it will be able to withstand the water. But at all events the houses should be cleared away from the site, and the place tidied up. The houses were purchased by the Government five or six years ago, and they can be pulled down without further compensating the natives.

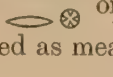
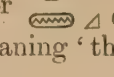
Philae.

The island of Philae is situated at the head of the First Cataract, some three kilometres above the barrage. It is about 460 metres long from north to south, and 150 metres from east to west. It is formed by a mass of crystalline rock, of which the main part is hornblendic granite; and a deep deposit of Nile mud has been collected above this. At only two points does the granite rise in any great quantity above the mud; namely, at the south-east corner, where there is a high mound of rock, and at the Temple of Isis, where it pushes up under the second pylon, and breaks through the pavement of the hall. The island is almost covered with temples, courts, and ancient constructions of one kind and another; and the banks of the river are largely built up with quay-walls and high terraces. The foundations of these buildings partly rest upon the rocks, and partly upon the mud; but for the most part they are well-built and deeply laid. When it was decided to turn this part of the river into a reservoir, Captain Lyons (Director General, Survey Department) undertook the work of examining the buildings, and of ascertaining the strength of the foundations. The works then carried out have placed the buildings in a condition to resist the force of the water at their yearly flooding, and at present there is no likelihood of a collapse of any part of the actual temples. The quay walls, however, on the west side of the island appear to be in some danger.

Preservation.

The temples are flooded each year from December to about April, and during part of this time one may visit them by boat, passing through the Kiosk and into the court of the Temple of Isis. The boats are inclined to be carelessly handled, and some damage has been done to the walls by the scraping and bumping of these boats against them. From May to December the island stands quite out of water, and when the river is at its lowest the temples have much of their original appearance, except that the palms and brick ruins are gone. Viewed as a whole the place does not show much sign of its submersion. Between the east side of the main temple and the Kiosk a lawn of grass and green herbage stretches; and various grasses, reeds, water-melons, creepers, and so on, grow in profusion amidst the ruins. On closer inspection, however, one sees that the flooding has left a permanent mark on the buildings. The band of dark stains which can be seen in the photographs (Plate XII, No. 3, and Plate XIV, No. 3) is obvious on every wall. Above it the sandstone blocks are yellow in colour, below it they are a grey white. Looking still closer it is noticed that the sharp lines of the reliefs and of the hieroglyphs above the high-water mark change to blurred outlines below that level (Plate XIV, No. 4). This wearing away of the surface of the stone is the most serious damage that the water has done. There is a kind of green slime which is sometimes left upon the walls by the water, and this, turning to a dead white, forms an almost imperceptible film over the surface. It may be that the blurred appearance is in part due to the presence of this dried slime, or is increased thereby. But at the same time there is no doubt that, owing to the action of the water on the sandstone, a rather rapid disintegration is taking place, and the hieroglyphs and small details of the reliefs are gradually disappearing. It is quite certain that in a few years' time hardly a single hieroglyph will be able to be read. In the event of the raising of the barrage, it is hard to say whether the temples will be able to resist the force of the water. It is certain that practically every relief and inscription on the whole island will be lost within a few years by the disintegration of the stone. The exquisite colouring of these reliefs, and of the capitals of the columns, will of course go at once. Perhaps it will be best to remove these capitals to the Museum, putting facsimiles uncoloured in their place. Some thousands of pounds will have to be spent on the complete facsimile drawings of the temples; and it is probable that this work will take more than three years to complete.

History.

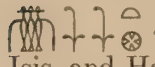
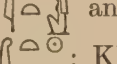
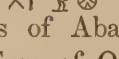
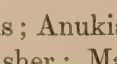
The known history of Philae does not carry one back to a period earlier than the Ethiopian dynasty, an altar of Taharḳa being the oldest monument on the island. The frontier of Egypt throughout dynastic times seems to have been placed at the southern end of the island of Sehel, which rises at the north end of the cataract. The large island of Bîgeh and the desert mainland around Shellal were important Egyptian military outposts at all times; but they were never regarded as anything but Lower Nubian territory. The island of Philae, however, does not seem to have been fortified, or to have been regarded as a place of any importance until late dynastic times; but when at last it began to be built upon, it was classed as a Lower Nubian settlement, having no connexion with Aswân, the southernmost town of Egypt. Its ancient name was  or  *Àlek* or *Pe-àlek*, and the word *àlek* has been sometimes considered as meaning 'the end',

the name thus being rendered 'The Island of the End.' This, however, is improbable, as Philae was essentially part of the *beginning* of Lower Nubia and not the *end* of Egypt; while it is unlikely that the *end* of Lower Nubia—as viewed from south to north—could have been meant, since there are other islands of Lower Nubia still further to the north. The name is more probably purely Nubian.

The earliest standing building at Philae was erected by Nectanebus II, though the name of Amasis on a block of stone, and the above-mentioned inscription of Taharḳa show that earlier buildings stood here. The priests of Philae, however, believed that their island had a far longer history than this, and at the Egyptian frontier at Sehel there is an inscription written by them, stating that as early as the Third Dynasty King Zeser gave them the country from the First Cataract to the island of Takômpso (i. e. Derâr, near Maḥâraḳa). It may well be that Zeser sent expeditions into Lower Nubia, and left this territory in charge of the military commanders of the fortresses at the head of the cataract; but it is extremely improbable that there were any priests at Philae at that early date, for no very ancient remains were found in Captain Lyons' excavations. The Isis worship which grew up here in Ptolemaic times, and for which the Ptolemies and Roman Pharaohs erected such splendid temples, brought Philae into great prominence at this period; and the priests obtained a power unequalled at that date in Upper Egypt. This may have been due in part to their holding, perhaps, the gold-mines of Wâdy 'Alâḳi, the terminus of the caravan route at Ḳubbân being within their sphere of administration. In the reign of Ptolemy II or III, the territory from the First Cataract to Takômpso, known as the Dodekaschoinoi, or the Land of the Twelve *Âru* or *Schoinoi* (a schoinos being about $7\frac{1}{2}$ miles) was formed into a kingdom under the native king Ergamenes; and Philae perhaps became part of this kingdom. But under Ptolemy V the kingdom of the Dodekaschoinoi was abolished, and Philae again came under Egyptian rule. In the twenty-fourth year of Ptolemy VI Philometor, this territory was handed over to the priests of Philae to administer and rule on behalf of the king; but an inscription near Kalâbsheh (Plate XXVII, No. 5) seems to show that at some time after this the priests acquired the whole of Lower Nubia as far south as the Second Cataract. In late Roman times the Blemmyes became ardent worshippers of Isis of Philae, and at one period when the island had passed out of their sphere of influence, an arrangement was made by which they were allowed to visit the temple at fixed periods, and to take the statue of the goddess into their own land for a short time. The old Egyptian religion died very hard, and at Philae the worship of Isis continued for a long period after Christianity had become the only legal religion of Egypt. Bishop Theodorus, about 577 A. D., converted part of the temple into a place of Christian worship, dedicating it to Saint Stephen. A large Coptic town grew up around the old temples, and this was excavated and planned in 1895. Sufficient has been said regarding Philae in the History of Lower Nubia at the beginning of this report to render a further discussion here unnecessary.

The Gods.

The goddess Isis was by no means the only deity worshipped on the island, although she held the position of patroness. She was generally worshipped as Isis of Philae, Isis of Abaton, Isis of Senem, Isis of Elephantine, Isis of the

Southern Countries, Isis of Coptos, Isis of Memphis, Isis of , and Isis of  . The trinities of which she was the chief member were:—Unnefer, Isis, and Harendotes; Isis, Hathor, and Harpocrates; Unnefer, Isis, and Imḥotep; Unnefer, Isis, and Nephthys; Isis, Horus, and Hathor; Horus, Isis, and Nephthys; Isis, Neith, and Maat; Isis, Horus, and Nephthys; and Unnefer, Isis, and Harpocrates. She also appears coupled as follows:—Isis and Harpocrates; Unnefer and Isis; Isis and ; Isis and Sekhmet; Isis and Hathor; Isis and Anukis; Isis and Tefnut; Isis and Nekheb; and Isis and Nephthys. She was sometimes called 'Great divine mother, "giving life to the [primaeval ?] water."' As the wife of Unnefer her name was sometimes enclosed in a cartouche. Osiris, or Osiris-Unnefer, her husband, was worshipped as Osiris of Abaton and Philae; and when his name was enclosed in a cartouche he was called *mȧȧ kherw* or 'deceased.' Horus has many forms, but in the following description of the temples these are not distinguished, as they differ so little. They are Horus, Harseisis, Harpocrates, Harendotes, and Harsemtawi. Other forms are Horus of Mȧȧm, Horus of Beḥeni, Horus of Behudet, Horus Chieftain of Takens, the Pharaoh of Senem, the Prince of Beḥeni, Harseisis of Abaton and Philae, Harpocrates of Philae, Harendotes of Abaton and Philae, Harmachis, and Rȧ-Harmachis. The trinities in which Horus appears apart from Isis are:—Khnum, Hathor, and Horus; Horus, Nephthys, and the Pharaoh of Senem; Seb, Nut, and Harpocrates; and Hathor, Harendotes, and Wepwat. He is coupled as follows:—Horus and Nephthys; Harmachis and Tefnut; Harseisis and Hathor; and with Isis. The other trinities and couples worshipped in Philae are:—Khnum, Satis, and Anukis; Arsnuphis, Thoth, and Dedwn; Ȧmen-Rȧ, Mut, and Khonsu; Ȧmen-Rȧ and Mut; Arsnuphis and Tefnut; Thoth and Behudet; Buto or Wazet and Nekheb; Khnum and Hathor;  and Nephthys; Thoth and Sekhmet; Satis and Anukis; Hathor and ; Khnum and Satis. The single gods and goddesses besides Isis, Osiris, and Horus are:—Ȧmen Rȧ of Abaton; Ȧmen Rȧ of Takens; Khnum of Senem; Khnum of ; Khnum of Elephantine; Khnum of Abaton; Thoth of Hermopolis; Thoth of Penubs; Thoth of  ; Thoth of Abaton; Thoth of Philae; Khonsu of Thebes; Arsnuphis of Abaton; Arsnuphis of Philae; Menthu-Rȧ of Thebes; Menthu of On; Tum of On; Tum; Imḥotep; Imḥotep son of Ptaḥ; Ptaḥ of Memphis; Ptaḥ; Min; Min of Philae; Mandulis of Talmis; Ȧnḥur-Shu; Shu; Shu of Senem; Shu son of Rȧ of Senem and Takens; Wepwat; Dedwn; Dedun of Abaton; Kheperȧ; Sebek of Ombos; Tasentnefer of Ombos; Penebtawi; Anubis; Sokaris; Sopt; Bes; Seb; Nephthys; Buto of Senem; Buto of Pe and Dep; Buto of the Fields; Nekheb of El Kab; ; Neith; Hathor of Philae, born of Rȧ in Senem, coming forth in  ; Hathor of Senem; Hathor of Philae; Hathor of On; Sekhmet of Senem; Nut; Anukis of Takens; Anukis of Senem; Satis of Elephantine; Satis of Senem; Bast; Mut; Mut of Ȧsher; Maat; Tefnut of Abaton; Tefnut of Philae; Tefnut

of Senem; ; Selkis; Safkhet; and . The expressions 'All the gods of Takens', 'All the gods of Senem', and 'All the gods of Philae' are used. The god Set is shown slain in the presence of Horus of Edfu. A few other gods are perhaps shown on the walls, but their names are now destroyed or are hard to read.

The Temple of Nectanebus.

The temples as they are seen at present must now be described. The Temple, or Vestibule as it is sometimes called, of Nectanebus II stands immediately over the water, and from its south side the quay wall drops sheer down to the river. There are six pillars on the west side and seven on the east, between which are low screen walls. The pillars are destroyed on the east side, but are nearly perfect on the west, and are seen to have lotus capitals, above which are Hathor heads supporting the architrave. The vestibule was entered by a main door on the north side, and by side doors on the east and west sides. At the south end there was probably only a window, as there are no traces of steps leading up the quay, by which the temple could be reached. Two sandstone obelisks stood at the south end of the temple, one of which is now lost. On the other are Greek and Arabic inscriptions. On the east side of the temple there is an open court, forming the top of the quay, and from it down to the water run two flights of steps, one being subterranean. Inside the temple the reliefs on the screen walls show Nectanebus before various gods. On the east side he stands before Isis, Nephthys, and Hathor; Isis of Elephantine, Isis of Coptos, and Harseisis; and various other gods now more or less destroyed. On the pillars he is said to be beloved of Isis and Hathor, and to have built this monument for the latter goddess. On the west side he is seen before Osiris-Unnefer, Isis, and Harseisis; before Nekheb and Buto; he is led by Khnum and Horus of Edfu towards Isis; and he is purified by Horus of Edfu and Takens, and by Thoth of Hermopolis and . On the pillars he is said to be beloved of Isis, and to have built this monument for his mother Isis. At the east end of the north wall he is seen wearing the crown of Upper Egypt, leaving his palace, while before him go the standards of the lock[1] and jackal, and a *sem*-priest burns incense. On the sides of the main doorway are figures of Thoth and Horus of Edfu pouring out the holy water. Outside the temple, on the east face of the screen walls, the king is seen before Khnum and Satis; Osiris-Unnefer and Isis; and other gods now destroyed. On the pillars Satis, Isis, Hathor, and Åmen Rå of Abaton are mentioned. On the west face of the screen walls the king is shown before Åmen Rå and Mut; Isis and Anukis; Khnum and Buto; Isis and Harpocrates. On the pillars he is said to have made this monument for his mother Isis, and for all the gods of Senem. On either side of the doorway in this wall a figure of the king is shown with the usual inscriptions relating to the double purification necessary when entering this 'temple of Isis.' The temple is approached on the north side by a short flight of steps, and on the wall to the left of the entrance the king is seen before Hathor, while on the right there seems originally to have been a figure of Isis. The two

[1] The emblem upon this standard has not been identified. Possibly it is a curled lock of hair, for in later times the standard is sometimes named *Khonsu*, and one of the symbols of that god is the side-lock worn by young men. This, however, is by no means certain.

inscriptions on the doorposts give the cartouches of the king beloved of Isis and Hathor.

The Temple of Arsnuphis.

The Temple of Arsnuphis stands just to the north-east of the temple of Nectanebus. It consists of a small shrine made up of a pronaos, vestibule, adytum, and sanctuary, this building being surrounded by a high enclosure wall. The shrine is for the most part destroyed; but the main part of the enclosure wall stands on the north and east sides, though on the west side it has fallen and lies scattered on the ground. There has here been a Coptic church which was constructed of the fallen blocks. Inside the sanctuary are fragments of a granite altar. Only the base of the pronaos walls remains, and one sees here the decorations of Nile figures which went around the chamber. The vestibule is almost in the same condition, but reliefs can be seen showing Ptolemy V Epiphanes before Isis; Arsnuphis and Tefnut; and Khnum, Satis, and Anukis; while around the doorway into the adytum are small reliefs showing the king in the presence of Åmen Rå, Shu, Khnum, and Horus. Of the adytum the south walls are standing, and one sees the king, now Ptolemy IV Philopator, before Isis, Horus, Unnefer, and other gods whose names are now lost. In the sanctuary only the bases of the walls with decorations of Nile figures are now left. This decoration is also found on the outside walls of the shrine. The enclosure walls are covered with reliefs. On the north wall there are four rows of scenes. In the top row the Pharaoh, who is here Tiberius, is represented before Osiris, Isis, and Harseisis; Harseisis, Nephthys, and Isis; Khnum, Satis, and Anukis; Arsnuphis and Tefnut. In the second row he stands before Isis, Hathor, Harpocrates, Arsnuphis, Thoth, and Dedwn. In the third row he is shown leaving his palace, while before him are the four standards (the jackal, ibis, hawk, and lock) and a figure burning incense. Next he is purified by Thoth and Horus of Edfu, and crowned by Nekheb and Buto. Then he is led by Horus and Menthu of On towards Arsnuphis; he stands in the presence of Arsnuphis and Isis; and he offers to other gods now damaged. The fourth row consists of a line of forty-eight gods and goddesses all facing towards three figures representing Unnefer, Isis, and Harseisis. On the east wall the king is seen before Sekmet, Thoth, Shu, Tefnut, Isis, Harseisis, Unnefer, Arsnuphis, Tefnut, Åmen Rå, Mut, and other deities now more or less destroyed. The fallen blocks of the south wall show Ergamenes, the king of the Land of the Twelve Schoinoi, Ptolemy IV Philopator, Ptolemy VII Philometor, and Tiberius, before various gods. The cartouches of Ergamenes seem to show signs of having been erased, and this was probably due to the enmity of Ptolemy V Epiphanes towards the Nubians after their revolt.

The East Colonnade.

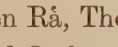
The east colonnade, still partly roofed, leading from the Temple of Arsnuphis to the Great Pylon, has never been finished. Of the seventeen columns only six have their capitals completed, and the outer wall has no reliefs upon it. Seven doorways are cut through this wall. The first five from the south end lead out on to the court in which stood a now ruined chapel of Mandulis; and the sixth leads into the small temple of Imḥotep (Aesculapeus). Passing through this door one finds oneself in a little court, on the north side of which is the doorway into the temple. On the left side of the doorway King Ptolemy V Epiphanes is seen before Imḥotep; and on the right side he is shown before Khnum, Satis, and

Anukis ; and before Unnefer, Isis, and Imḥotep. Around the doorway are small panels of reliefs showing Osiris, Isis, Khnum, Hathor, Ptaḥ, Thoth, and Imḥotep being adored by the king. On either side of the jambs of the door the king's titles are inscribed, and reference is made to Isis, while he is said to be beloved of Imḥotep and Ptaḥ. On the lintel is a Greek inscription which dates from the reign of Ptolemy V Epiphanes, and refers to his wife and son. Through this doorway one passes into two chambers, both of which are undecorated.

Gateway of Philadelphus.

Between the temple of Imḥotep and the Great Pylon stands the imposing gateway built by Ptolemy II Philadelphus, which probably formed the eastern entrance of a dromos, now lost, which stood on the site of the present colonnade. On the west face of the doorway the reliefs on the lintel show the king dancing before Khnum and Hathor, and before Unnefer and Isis. On the sides of the doorway he stands before Åmen Rå, Horus, Ptaḥ, Harseisis, Isis, and Min of Philae. Inside the doorway there is a large relief showing the king being led forward by Isis ; and small damaged reliefs showing Tiberius before Unnefer, Isis, Anubis, and other gods. On the east face of the doorway King Ptolemy is seen in the presence of Unnefer, Isis, Satis, Anukis, Hathor, and other deities.

The West Colonnade.

Returning now to the Temple of Nectanebus at the south end of the island, the west colonnade which lies between that point and the Great Pylon must be described. The thirty-one columns here, with fine capitals, still support parts of the roof, decorated with vultures with spread wings and stars ; while the outer wall, decorated with numerous reliefs, is mainly intact. At intervals in this wall are windows overlooking the water and the island of Bîgeh. This colonnade rises immediately above the high quay-wall, so that at low water there is a sheer drop of several metres below the windows. The reliefs show the Pharaohs Claudius, Tiberius, and Germanicus, before various gods, including Tefnut, Arsnuphis, Min, Nephthys,  , Åmen Rå, Thoth of Hermopolis, Thoth of Penubs, Thoth of Abaton and Philae, Sebek of Ombos, Tasentnefer of Ombos, Penebtawi, and the others already so frequently named. The most common groups here are those consisting of Osiris-Unnefer, Isis, and a form of Horus ; or Osiris, Hathor, and Harpocrates ; while Arsnuphis is several times represented. Many of the names are now difficult to read owing to the action of the water on the stone. Towards the north end of the colonnade there is a well-preserved Greek inscription on the wall, which states that a certain Ammonius fulfilled a vow made to Isis, Serapis, and other gods, by presenting to them the worship of his brother and children, in the thirty-first year of Caesar Augustus. Beneath the colonnade, and running at right angles to it is a passage descending to the water, which was used as a Nilometer.

The Great Pylon.

The Great Pylon is now reached. In front of it are two fallen Roman lions of pink granite, which stood on pedestals, of which only one still remains. The large reliefs upon the pylon must now be described. On the south or front face of the west pylon King Ptolemy XIII Neos Dionysos is seen with mace upraised, slaying a group of enemies whom he grasps by the hair. A large figure of Isis and small figures of Hathor and Horus of Edfu are before him. Above this the king is seen in the presence of Unnefer and Isis, Isis and Harseisis. The reliefs have been damaged intentionally in Christian times. On the east pylon the king is shown

slaying his enemies as before in the presence of Isis, Horus, and Hathor; while higher up he stands before Horus and Nephthys, Isis and Harpocrates. The scenes here are interfered with by the Gateway of Philadelphus, but it is obvious from the masonry that the pylon and the gateway were built at the same time. Along the whole length of the base of this face of the pylon are reliefs showing small Nile figures bringing offerings. In the west pylon a doorway is constructed, leading into the Birth-House. Around the doorway are smaller panels of reliefs showing Ptolemy VII Philometor before Harpocrates, Unnefer, and Isis; Khnum and Hathor; Åmen Rå, Mut, and Khonsu; Thoth and Sekhmet; 'The Prince of Beḥeni' (Halfa), a man in a war-helmet, and Nephthys; and other deities; while at the foot of the wall on either side is a representation of a sacred boat. The reliefs on the inner sides of the doorway will be discussed later in connexion with the Birth-House.

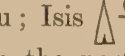
The main gateway through the pylon was built by King Nectanebus II at the same time as his temple at the south end of the island. On the south face of this gateway the reliefs on the lintel show Nectanebus dancing before Osiris, Unnefer, and Isis; Khnum and Hathor. On the sides he is shown in the presence of Nekheb, Buto, Sekhmet, Tefnut, Isis, and Hathor. A Coptic cross has been inserted on either side of the doorway. As one passes through the doorway one sees on either side a number of reliefs showing Nectanebus in the presence of Harpocrates, Hathor, Horus of Beḥeni, Åmen Rå, Mut, Horus of Edfu, Thoth, Isis, Harseisis, Dedun of Abaton, Unnefer, &c.; and there is a large relief showing him before Isis. Around the base of the walls are figures of Nile gods bearing offerings. On the east wall is a French inscription dated in the seventh year of the Republic and recording the presence of officers of the French army which had recently defeated the Mamelukes. One now finds oneself in the forecourt of the Temple of Isis, and, turning round, one may examine the reliefs on the north side of the Great Pylon. On the east pylon Ptolemy XIII is represented offering to Åmen Rå and Mut; Khnum and Hathor; Unnefer and Isis. Lower down are small figures representing the king before Harmachis, Tum, Thoth, Horus of Edfu, Unnefer, Shu, Tefnut, a god whose name is not clear, Nut, Isis, and Harseisis. Below this another line of deities is shown, but only the usual gods are named. On the west pylon Ptolemy XIII is shown before Unnefer and Isis; Horus and Hathor; Hathor and Harpocrates; Unnefer and Isis; and Isis. Below this a number of priests are shown carrying two sacred boats. The main doorway of Nectanebus has around this side of it reliefs showing the king before Shu, Khnum, Hathor, Unnefer, Isis, Åmen Rå, Satis, and Anukis. In the east pylon there is a small doorway in the north side leading into a guard-room. Passing through this doorway one sees on the left side reliefs showing King Ptolemy X Soter II, before Isis, Hathor, and Horus; and, accompanied by Queen and Princess Cleopatra, before Isis. The chamber into which one now passes has reliefs on the south wall showing the king before Osiris, Isis, Horus, and Harpocrates. Four niches have been cut in the walls in later times in order to form cupboards. From this room another small chamber leads off, but this is entirely undecorated. Another doorway in this pylon is to be found in the east corner under the colonnade. Above it are reliefs showing Ptolemy XIII

leaving his palace, with the four standards (the jackal, ibis, hawk, and lock) before him. Passing through the doorway one ascends a flight of steps which leads to the roof. A chamber opens off the steps a few metres from the ground, and further up a second chamber leads on to the top of the doorway of Nectanebus. From here the steps ascend up each of the pylons to the top. Standing on the doorway one sees that on the west face of the east pylon there are reliefs showing Ptolemy XIII before Isis, while Horus and Thoth are shown below, together with the figure of a hawk. On the east side of the west pylon the king is seen before Isis and before Horus. Descending again and passing round the pylon one sees that on the east side of the east pylon the king is represented slaying a gazelle before Harpocrates and Tefnut. On the west side of the west pylon he is seen before Harmachis and Shu; he slays four prisoners before Horus of Beḥeni; and he worships Isis and Harpocrates. On different parts of the walls of the Great Pylon there are Greek and Demotic inscriptions, the former being particularly numerous.

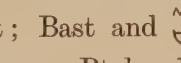
The Birth-House.

The Birth-House, which is built between the Great Pylon and the second pylon, forms the west side of the forecourt. It was intended to be approached through the doorway in the west pylon, the south side of which has already been described. Passing into this doorway one sees on either side of the doorposts a series of small reliefs showing Ptolemy VII Philometor before Harmachis, Khonsu of Thebes, Anukis, Isis, Harpocrates, Ptaḥ, Min, Unnefer, and other deities. Beyond this, on either side, there are reliefs representing scenes introductory to the story of the birth of Horus which is related in the reliefs in the Birth-House. On the west wall, above a small doorway which leads into an undecorated guard-room, the king stands before Harpocrates who is suckled by Isis; and he offers to Isis and to other deities now damaged. Beyond this there is an elaborate group of scenes. At the top the king is shown in the presence of Isis of Abaton, Harpocrates, Hathor, Isis of , Isis of Memphis, Isis of , Åmen Rå, and Neith. Below this he worships Hathor, Harpocrates, and Arsnuphis; kneeling hawk-, jackal-, and human-headed figures being in front of him. Below this the seven Hathors, who attend women in childbirth and act the part of the fairy-godmother, are shown beating tambourines in the presence of Unnefer and Isis, who are called Lord and Lady of the Birth-House. Under this again a goddess plays a harp, and the king, with his queen Cleopatra, makes offerings to Isis and other deities now partly destroyed. On the west wall of the passage there is also a doorway leading into a small guard-room, and the reliefs beside it are again elaborate. In the top row one sees the king offering to Isis, Harpocrates, Neith, Bast, Hathor, Khnum, and other deities. Below this the king, with eight cynocephali, adores Isis, Harpocrates, and Arsnuphis. Beneath this he makes offerings to Osiris, Isis, Horus of Beḥeni, Horus of , Horus of Mâå(m), Horus of . . . . . , and Isis. Under this the king and queen make offerings to Isis, Harmachis, Hathor, Harpocrates, and a goddess whose name is not clear. The lowest row of reliefs on either wall shows the king and queen

leading a procession of Nubian districts:—Senem or Bîgeh, Het-Khent, Baki or Ḳubbân, Mâå(m) or Ibrîm, Meḥy or Abu Simbel, Tawazet, Penubs, Petenḥor, Napata, Meroe, and three others which are unreadable. Tawazet and the following names are districts of Upper Nubia. Around the north face of the doorway is a series of reliefs showing Ptolemy XIII before Horus, Hathor, Harpocrates, Isis, Unnefer, and Harsemtawi.

The main building consists of a portico, the roof of which is supported by four columns with varying capitals, a vestibule, an adytum, and a sanctuary. On the west, north, and east sides of this building runs a colonnade which is entered by a doorway on the west side of the portico. On the doorway leading to the portico Ptolemy VII is seen on either side, with the crown of Upper and Lower Egypt on his head, and holding a mace and sceptre in his hands. On the west wall are eight reliefs showing Tiberius before Osiris, Isis, and Horus; Shu and Tefnut; Horus, Hathor, and another deity; Satis and Anukis; Isis, Osiris, and Horus; Hathor suckling a child, and Shu; Unnefer, Isis, and Horus; and Harpocrates and Hathor. On the east wall the eight reliefs show Tiberius before Osiris, Isis, and Horus; Thoth and a goddess whose name is not clear; Åmen Rå, Mut, and Khonsu; Isis suckling a child, and Shu; Isis  , Osiris, and Horus; and Isis suckling Harpocrates, and . On the north wall Ptolemy VI Philometor is seen before Isis and Hathor; Khnum, Satis, and Anukis; Osiris, Unnefer, and Isis; Isis and Hathor; Shu and two other deities; and Isis and Horus. At the sides of the doorway into the vestibule are small panels showing the king before Isis, Hathor, Satis, and Anukis. On the architraves are small figures of deities, most of which represent Tawrt. The ceiling decoration is in the usual form of vultures with wings spread. The walls of the vestibule are not decorated with reliefs, but many demotic inscriptions have been written here. Around the doorway leading from the vestibule to the adytum are reliefs showing Neos Dionysos before Min, Åmen Rå; Sekhmet; Tefnut; Isis; Osiris, Isis, and Horus; and Khnum, Hathor, and Harpocrates. Entering the adytum the reliefs on this side of the doorway are seen to represent eight (*sic*) figures of Hathor, each holding a tambourine, while a king and queen whose cartouches have not been filled in worship Isis. Around the lower part of the walls of this chamber are a series of curious reliefs, representing various deities standing amidst the papyrus swamps in which Isis gave birth to Horus. Here there are hawk- and snake-headed figures holding spears, snakes, hippopotami-gods with cows' and hawks' heads, a cynocephalus enthroned, and so on. Above these scenes on the west wall are reliefs showing various gods—Shu, Tefnut, Seb, Nut, Osiris, Isis, Horus, Nephthys, Hathor, . At the top of the wall Åmen Rå addresses Khnum; Khnum models a figure of the king; Thoth speaks with the Queen-mother; and the queen is led forward by Khnum and another god. On the east wall the scenes are much damaged. but one can make out a child being presented to various gods, and Hathor addressing Åmen. These scenes are intended to indicate the divine birth of the king by showing the various gods interesting themselves in the child's creation.

Around the doorway leading into the sanctuary Ptolemy VI Philometor,

is shown before Isis, Hathor, Satis, Anukis, Nekheb, Wazet, Osiris, Åmen Rå, Min, Horus, Khnum, and other gods. The reliefs on the west, east, and south walls of the sanctuary show Ptolemy VI before various gods:—Khnum, Satis, and Anukis; Hathor of Senem, Hathor of Philae, and Horus; Thoth; Horus; Harendotes; ; Nekheb and Wazet; Osiris, Isis suckling Harpocrates, and Nephthys; Min; Hathor with the young Horus; Horus, Isis, and Hathor; the Pharaoh of Senem; Horus, Shu, and Tefnut; Khnum, Satis, and Anukis; Thoth and Sekhmet; Bast and  ; Tum, Dua, and Nut; Hathor and Horus; Khnum; Ptaḥ; Neith; and others. On the north wall the central scene shows a hawk, crowned with the crown of Upper and Lower Egypt, standing amidst a clump of papyrus reeds; and below this Isis is seen with the baby to whom she has just given birth in her arms. Beside her stand Thoth, Wazet, , Åmen Rå, Nekheb, and Behudet. Above these scenes the king is shown before the trinities of Khnum, Hathor, and Horus; and Osiris, Isis, and Horus.

Passing now into the colonnade around the temple, the reliefs on the west side must be recorded. These are in four rows. In the top row the Pharaoh Tiberius is seen worshipping Osiris-Unnefer, and Isis; Isis, Hathor, and Horus; Khnum and Hathor; Min; the Pharaoh of Senem; Horus and Hathor; Seb, Nut, and Horus; Hathor and Horus; Isis suckling the young Harpocrates, and Horus; and Isis. In the second row the king offers to Horus who is carried in a chest on a lion's back, and Isis; he offers to Hathor and Horus, while a goddess with a bunch of papyri on her head plays a harp; he offers to Ptaḥ and Sekhmet; Thoth; Arsnuphis and Tefnut; Åmen Rå, Mut, and Khonsu; Isis suckling Horus; Neith and Maat; and Horus and Hathor. In the third row the king worships Horus and Isis; Unnefer, Isis, and Horus; Horus and Hathor; Isis suckling Horus; Horus; Horus and Nephthys; Horus, and another deity; Hathor, Horus, and Wepwat; and Isis and Horus. The bottom row consists of a group, many times repeated, made up of an ibis standing on a shrine, and a hawk perched on a clump of papyrus. It is perhaps worthy of note that the representation of an ibis upon a shrine occurs as early as the First Dynasty, and is to be observed on the mace head of King Narmer found at Hieraconpolis. The reliefs on the north wall are in four rows. In the first two rows the king is shown before Khnum and Hathor; Hathor suckling Horus, and Wepwat; Osiris and Isis; and other deities as before. In the third row Isis, nursing Horus, is seated between Åmen Rå and Wazet, while Thoth, Neith, another goddess, and the king stand by them; and next to this Hathor nurses Horus, while Nekheb sits behind her, and Khnum models a figure before her, Thoth, two goddesses, and the king standing behind. In the lowest row the king and various demigods bring offerings to Isis nursing Horus in the papyrus swamps. The reliefs on the east wall are damaged in part. They repeat more or less closely the scenes on the west wall, and do not mention any different gods. The east walls of this temple, outside the colonnade, are also decorated with reliefs. At the south end the king, Neos Dionysos, is seen before Min, Arsnuphis, Khnum, and other gods; and seven Hathors beating tambourines stand before Isis and

Hathor. Along the lower line the king is seen leaving the palace with seven standards before him, and a priest who burns incense. He is then purified by Thoth and Behudet; is crowned by Nekheb and Wazet; is led to Isis by Horus; and worships Osiris-Unnefer, Isis and Horus, and other gods now damaged. At the north end various mythological figures are represented. The architrave inscription on the east face of the east part of the colonnade around the temple states that Ptolemy IX Euergetes built it. Under the reliefs of Neos Dionysos at the south end of the wall are demotic and hieroglyphic decrees dated in the twenty-first year of Ptolemy V Epiphanes, one of which relates to the suppression of what seems to be the revolt of Ergamenes, king of the Dodekaschoinos, or of his successor Ȧzkherȧmen.

The East Buildings of the Isis forecourt.

The east side of the forecourt between the two pylons is formed by a colonnade, from the back of which six doorways lead. The reliefs on this wall from south to north show King Neos Dionysos before Thoth; slaying a form of Set before Horus of Edfu; offering to Unnefer and Isis; burning incense before six standards—the two jackals, the ibis, the hawk, the lock, and the disk and feathers; dragging a sleigh on which is the sacred boat of Sokaris in the presence of Sokaris and Isis; worshipping Isis; kneeling before Hathor; and worshipping Osiris and Isis. Lower down the king is seen before Isis, Unnefer, Horus, Neith, while along the bottom of the wall is a procession of the nomes. On the columns the king is shown in the presence of the same gods as usual. The inscription on the architrave states that Ptolemy IX Euergetes II, built the colonnade, and it is thus seen that Neos Dionysos only added the reliefs. The southernmost of the six doorways leads through a chamber on to the terrace. There is also a stairway here leading to the roof. On the doorway are long inscriptions giving the recipe for making the temple incense, and it is to be presumed that this was the room in which it was made. The second and third doorways admit one to uninscribed chambers. The fourth doorway leads into a small chamber upon the walls of which are the four following reliefs in large size—a cow-headed goddess, , offers two vases to Unnefer, Isis, and Horus; the Pharaoh (Augustus?) makes offering to Isis; Maat offers a paint-box and brushes to Thoth, Tefnut, and Safkhet; and the Pharaoh offers to Ptaḥ. There is a niche in the north wall over which is a figure of an ibis, and under it a figure of an ape writing upon a palette. This room, as one sees from the inscription outside the doorway, was the chamber in which the sacred books were kept, and it was probably actually in this niche that they lay. The wooden door-pivot at the entrance is noteworthy. The fifth and largest door leads through a vestibule, and a second doorway to the terrace outside. On the east side of the doorway Neos Dionysos is seen worshipping the two trinities; Khnum, Hathor, and Horus; and Osiris, Isis, and Horus; and the gods Horus, Isis, Ȧmen Rȧ, Mut, Shu, Tefnut, Thoth, &c. The walls of the vestibule are covered with reliefs showing the Pharaoh Tiberius before Harmachis, Shu, and Tefnut; Isis, Horus, and Nephthys; Unnefer, Isis, and Horus; Isis, Hathor, and Horus; Arsnuphis, Thoth, and Tefnut. On the second doorway leading from this vestibule to the terrace the same Pharaoh is seen with his queen, whose cartouche is blank, before Osiris, Isis, and Horus; Horus, Hathor, and Harpocrates; Ȧmen Rȧ and Mut; Horus and Hathor; Thoth and Wepwat; Shu and Tefnut; Khnum, Isis, and

Horus; and other deities. Coptic crosses have been cut on the east side of the doorway. The sixth doorway leads to the north. Above it on the inside the king is seen worshipping Osiris and Isis, and below is a lion. On the right side of the doorway, as one passes through, the king is seen slaying a captive before Horus. On the north face of this doorway, above the cornice, the king is shown offering to Unnefer, Isis, Horus, Hathor, Khnum, and Sopt. At the sides of the doorway are inscriptions addressed to the mythical Keeper of the Portal.

Forecourt.

Returning now to the forecourt, in the south-east corner there stands a granite altar dedicated to Åmen Rå by Taharḳa. Protruding from the east side of the smaller pylon there is a large block of the natural granite which has been trimmed down and has had reliefs and inscriptions cut upon it in the manner of a stele. In front of it a small chapel, now almost totally lost, was erected by one of the emperors. The reliefs on the stele show Ptolemy VII Philometor and his queen standing before Isis and Horus, and Osiris and Isis, while Horus in another form stands near. The inscription, dated in the twenty-fourth year, refers to the presenting to Isis of the country from Takômpso (or Derâr) to Aswân, making twelve *âru* or *schoinoi* on the east bank, and twelve *schoinoi* on the west bank.

The Second Pylon.

The east side of the second or smaller pylon, which is built over this natural rock, has on it a large relief showing King Neos Dionysos worshipping Horus and Hathor; and above this he is shown in smaller size offering to Horus and Isis; and to Osiris, Isis, and Horus. Below are figures of the king and the Nile-gods offering to Unnefer, Nephthys, and Horus. On the west pylon the king is shown in large size before Unnefer and Isis, and in smaller size before Horus and Isis, and Unnefer, Isis, and Horus. Lower down the king is seen at the head of a procession of Nile-figures, making offering to Unnefer, Isis, and Horus. The five standards of the jackal, ibis, hawk, lock, and feathers and disk, are shown near the king. These scenes are interrupted by the doorway which joins the Birth-House to the pylon. A flight of steps leads up to the main doorway between the pylons. Around this doorway are small reliefs showing Ptolemy IX Euergetes dancing before Unnefer and Isis, and Khnum and Hathor; and worshipping Åmen Rå, Horus, Mut, Sekhmet, Satis, Anukis, Tefnut, Nut, Hathor, and Isis. Queen Cleopatra also worships Nephthys and Wazet, Nekheb and another goddess whose name is not clear. The reliefs on the east side of the east pylon show Neos Dionysos before Horus, Ptaḥ, and three other forms of Horus. At the east end of the north face of this pylon, where it extends beyond the walls of the Temple of Isis, are reliefs showing Tiberius before Isis, Thoth, Horus, Shu, and other gods. On the west side of the west pylon Neos Dionysos is represented worshipping Horus and Osiris, slaying a Set-animal before Horus, and offering to Unnefer and Isis. On the north face at the west end of the pylon, where it extends beyond the walls of the temple, are reliefs showing Tiberius before Isis, Horus, Thoth, and other gods, most of which are damaged. On the west side of the east pylon and on the east side of the west pylon, above the main doorway, there are reliefs showing Neos Dionysos worshipping Horus and Hathor, Osiris and Isis, while Thoth is seen before Isis and Horus, and Ptaḥ before Isis and Harmachis.

The Temple of Isis.

Ascending the stairs from the forecourt one passes through the great doorway. On the two jambs are reliefs showing the king offering to Harmachis, Shu, Seb, Ptaḥ, Thoth, and Horus of Behudet, Senem, and Philae. On the east side is an inscription of Bishop Theodorus. On the main inner wall of the doorway is a Coptic painting of Christ (?) with adoring angels. On the west side Ptolemy IX offers before Unnefer, Isis, and Horus. Passing through the doorway one finds oneself in a rectangular hall, having ten columns, and in the middle a restored semi-portal. The beautiful capitals of the columns excite one's profound admiration for the work of this period. The roof is intact but only covers half the hall, a large part having been left open in the original design. From the north end a gateway leads into the vestibule and sanctuary. On the east and west sides are small doorways, and in the west side of the pylon another doorway leads to a staircase by which one may ascend to the roof. The walls and columns of the hall are covered with reliefs, some of which are much damaged by bird-droppings, while others have been quite chiselled out by Christians. The water, when the reservoir is full, floods this hall to the depth of about forty centimetres or so; but it is truly painful to think of the damage which will be done if the barrage is raised. The reliefs show Ptolemy IX and other Pharaohs before the following gods:—Unnefer, the various forms of Horus, Khnum, Thoth, Shu, Åmen Rå, Rå-Harmachis, Rå, Imḥotep, Ptaḥ, Dedwn, Khonsu, Min, Hathor, Isis, Nephthys, Mut, Tefnut, Anukis, Satis, Sekhmet, and others. On the north wall of the hall Ptolemy III and Berenice are seen in attitudes of worship. These figures were introduced by Ptolemy IX. On the east side of the hall part of the wall-decorations have been removed, and a small Christian altar has been erected. The reliefs have also been erased on the lower part of the other walls. The floor at this side of the hall shows the rough granite protruding through the pavement in several places, while it actually forms part of the wall in one place. Considering the care with which the temple is built, one can only suppose that this natural rock has been left untouched owing to the objection which the priests felt to cutting it away, all the rocks of the island being regarded as sacred.

One now passes from the hall into an inner court, and on either side of the doorway is an inscription relating to Bishop Theodorus. High up over the doorway is a large modern inscription dated in 1841 under Gregory XVI. The small court which one now enters was originally divided into two parts by a doorway now destroyed. The west portion formed a hall in front of the main chambers of the Isis Temple; and the east part was partly roofed, and through it one passed into a passage which led round into the adytum again. As one enters the court a series of reliefs will be seen on its south wall. To the west of the doorway King Ptolemy II is represented, having the crown of Lower Egypt on his head, leaving his palace censed by a *sem*-priest, and preceded by the two jackal standards. Above this he offers to Isis. On the east doorway he leaves the palace crowned with the Upper Egyptian crown, and is preceded by the jackal, lock, and ibis standards. Above this he is seen dancing before Isis, and performing an unknown ceremony before Isis and Nephthys. The gods shown on the north side of the doorway are Åmen Rå, Ânḥur-Shu, Min, Menthu,

Tum, Khnum, Isis, and Nut. At the bottom, on the east side, the goddess Safkhet writes the *Ka*-name of the king, while on the west side Thoth does likewise. One sees, then, from these reliefs that the king has left his palace; and in the presence of various gods has come to worship Isis. The inscription here tells one that these gods are giving to the king many jubilees in which he is crowned as King of Upper and Lower Egypt on the throne of Horus-Menthu. On the west wall the king is now seen to be purified by Horus and Thoth. Above this he offers to the Pharaoh of Sênem, who is crowned with the war-helmet; and still higher he offers to Åmen Rå and Isis. On the north wall, i.e. on the sides of the door into the inner chambers, he is crowned, on the west side, by Menthu of Thebes and Tum of On, and is given many years and jubilees. Above this he worships Seb and Horus. On the east side he is led forward by Khnum and Isis; and above he worships Isis, and Isis suckling Harpocrates, and Wazet. This scene is much damaged, and cannot be easily distinguished. Over the doorway he worships Osiris and Isis; and down either side he offers to Hathor, Sekhmet, Isis, and Tefnut.

The Sanctuary &c. of the Isis Temple.

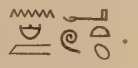
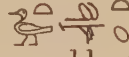
One may now pass from this court into the main building consisting of the vestibule, adytum, and sanctuary. In the west wall of the vestibule there is a doorway leading into an inner chamber which is quite dark, and the reliefs of which are much damaged. On this west wall there is a relief showing the king offering to Osiris. The east wall is much damaged, but it can be seen that the king has been shown offering to Isis. The adytum is somewhat dark, and as there is generally a foot or so of water in it in winter it is seldom visited. On the west end of the south wall Ptolemy II is seen before Osiris and Isis, and before Harmachis and Tefnut. On the east end of the south wall he stands before Unnefer, Isis, and other deities. On the east wall he worships Isis, and on the west wall Isis, Hathor, &c. On the north wall he is seen worshipping Isis of Philae and Arsinoë. The other deities in this chamber are difficult to see without the use of a ladder. From this room a doorway in the west wall leads into a chamber in which there are reliefs showing the king in the presence of Sekhmet, Hathor, and Nephthys. There is an additional inscription added by Ptolemy III (?). In the north wall of the adytum is a door leading into a dark chamber in which are large reliefs showing Ptolemy II before Hathor, Anukis, and Isis in various forms. There is again an additional inscription by Ptolemy III.

The sanctuary is lighter, and most of the reliefs can be easily seen. The walls are covered with scenes showing Ptolemy II before Hathor and Wazet, Unnefer and Isis, Isis and 'the royal wife, royal sister, and royal daughter, Arsinoë', Isis and Hathor, Isis and Sekhmet, Isis and Anukis, Khnum and Satis, Isis and Tefnut, Isis and Nekheb, and Horus and Hathor. Isis predominates here of course, and on the north wall which forms the main wall of the sanctuary she is shown six times, no other deities being with her. In this chamber there is a pink granite altar or pedestal of a statue, inscribed with the cartouches of Ptolemy III and Berenice.

Returning to the small court or hall before the vestibule one should now visit the eastern portion of the building. On the south wall there is a damaged

relief of the king offering to Horus. On the east wall the king worships Isis, who says that she gives him the sovereignty of Horus; he offers to Isis; and, in large size, he presents a large heap of offerings of all kinds to the temple. The north wall is covered with scenes which have been damaged by the Christians. The king is here seen offering to Isis and Unnefer. On the west wall he worships Osiris, Isis, Nephthys, Hathor, Khnum, Satis, Anukis, and Horus. The king throughout these reliefs is Ptolemy II, but Ptolemy III has added his name here and there. A door in the north wall leads into a passage which turns into the adytum. In this passage, on the east wall, the king is seen carrying a miniature barque, while two priests bear its case behind him. He offers it to Isis and Horus. On the west wall he offers a similar barque to Osiris-Unnefer and Isis. Returning once more to the court in front of the vestibule, one may now pass out by the doorway on the west side, which brings one into an antechamber from which two passages lead, that in the west wall taking one outside the temple, and that in the north wall taking one up a straight flight of steps to the roof. In the anteroom there are three big reliefs showing the king before Isis.

Ascending the steps the roof is found to be constructed in the form of a platform, at each of the four corners of which is an open chamber sunk some $2\frac{1}{2}$ metres. The stairway by which one has ascended has led through the first of these. That at the north-east corner has a small room leading off it, but there are no inscriptions or reliefs on the walls. That at the south-east corner has lost its flooring, and thus one looks down on to the hall below. That at the south-west corner is the most interesting. On the north wall Isis, Nephthys, Horus, and Anubis, are shown making offerings to Unnefer, and Isis and Nephthys spread their wings around him. On the north wall Isis weeps by the bier of Osiris, beside which stands Anubis, while above it hovers a hawk. The gods Harmachis, Seb, Thoth, Tefnut, Nut, Hathor, Sekhmet, and others stand near bewailing. On the east wall various gods worship before Unnefer, Isis, and Nephthys. In the south wall is a door leading into a second chamber, and on either side of it is a relief showing the king, here called simply 'Pharaoh,' slaying his enemies. In this chamber, which one now enters, the reliefs are very curious. On the north wall one sees in the top row the king, whose cartouches are blank, worshipping Min; and Unnefer is worshipped by Isis, Nephthys, Anubis, Horus, Wazet, and Nekheb. In the second row a sacred boat in which is the bier of Osiris is worshipped by the four genii of Anubis—Amset, Hapu, Duamutef and Khebsen. In the third row a shrine is shown in which is a sacred tree. On the west wall, in the top row, the king worships before Ptaḥ, Harmachis, Shu, Tefnut, a god whose name is not clear, Nut, Unnefer, Isis, Khnum, Satis, Horus, Nephthys, Hathor, Harpocrates, and Wazet. In the second row Khnum is seen fashioning a pot; behind him are Hapi, a hawk-headed lion, the frog *Heket*, Osiris, Isis (?) within , Horus, a lion-headed god, Osiris, Isis, Horus, in the form of a human-headed snake, Sekhmet, a form of Kheperà, Wazet of the fields, Ànḥur-Shu, Osiris, and Isis. In the third row are the nome standards. On the south wall, in the top row, Osiris and Isis stand beside the sacred head of Osiris on a pole; Horus and two goddesses stand before a large

ded; and Satis, Anukis, Sokaris, and a ram-headed god are shown before another sacred symbol. In the second row Osiris-Unnefer, in the form of a mummified hawk, lies on a bier supported by four figures; Isis and Nephthys kneel by the legs of Osiris, which are in a chest; and Isis and Nephthys lean over the bier on which the resurrection of Osiris in the form of Horus is taking place. In the third row Anubis, Isis, and Nephthys are seen tending the body of Osiris; the body of Osiris lies on a bier, while Horus sprinkles water over it, thus causing lotus-flowers to grow from it; the body of Osiris lying on its bier is worshipped by Horus and Heket. On the east wall, in the top row, is the king before the gods Åmen Rå, Nun and Nunt, Hehu and Hehut, Kekui and Kekuit, Nuy and Nuyt, Tum, Thoth,  . In the second row the king offers to Ptaḥ who fashions a vase, Hapi, Horus, Osiris, Isis, Neith, Selkis, Osiris,  snake-formed, Horus, Nekheb, Horus of Edfu, Sokaris protected by a goddess, and a shrine in which is the head of Isis protected by a goddess. In the third row are the nome signs. One may now ascend to the pylon by means of a stairway.

The Outside of the Isis Temple.

The outside walls of the temple of Isis are decorated with reliefs dating mainly from the reign of Tiberius. At the south end of the west wall the king is shown slaying his enemies in the presence of , Isis, Horus, and Hathor. Above this he is shown slaying a captive before the Pharaoh of Senem. In the other reliefs he is shown worshipping Unnefer and Isis; Åmen Rå, Mut, and Khonsu; Khnum and Hathor; Horus, Isis, and Nephthys; Thoth; Min; Hathor and Horus; Nut; Shu and Tefnut; Nephthys; and others; he is crowned by Nekheb and Wazet in the presence of Isis; and he slays a captive before Horus and Hathor. On the north side, or back, of the temple four large reliefs show him before Isis and Horus; Unnefer and Isis; Isis and Nephthys; and Hathor and Horus; while other smaller reliefs represent other gods. On the east side of the temple at the south end he is seen slaying his enemies before Isis, Hathor, and Horus; he makes offering to Unnefer and Isis; Khnum, Hathor, and Horus; Isis, Hathor, and Horus; Horus, Nephthys, and the Pharaoh of Senem; and Unnefer, Isis, and Nephthys. Along the north end of this side the Pharaoh is seen leaving his palace, with the jackal, ibis, and hawk standards before him; he is purified by Behudet and Thoth; he is crowned by Nekheb and Wazet; he is led by Menthu of On and Harmachis to Isis; and he worships Isis, Unnefer and Isis, Horus and Isis, and Isis and Horus. Higher up he stands before Isis and Horus, Hathor and Horus, Nephthys, Sekhmet, Åmen Rå and Mut, Horus and Hathor, Khnum and Hathor, Unnefer and Isis, Thoth, and others. On the west of the temple, near the second pylon, stands a gateway and passage built by Hadrian. The flight of steps by which it led to the water is now lost, though the quay and much construction stands. On the lintel of the doorway the king is seen before Osiris, Isis, and Harpocrates; and on the sides of the doorway are the wig of Osiris resting on a pole, and the spine of Osiris in the form of a *ded*, these two relics belonging to Abydos and Busiris respectively. On the south wall of the passage the reliefs have never been finished, and all are much

Hadrian's Gateway and other buildings.

damaged. In the top row Horus is seated between Isis and Nephthys, while Neith and Thoth number his years; and Osiris, Anubis, Shu, Tefnut, and a goddess playing a harp, are shown near by. In the second row, near a small side door, there is a very interesting relief. It shows the king bearing a chest upon his shoulder, and walking with Thoth and Isis towards a temple, on the west side of which are two doorways, probably representing this actual building. Beyond these doorways is the river, across which a crocodile swims with Osiris on its back towards some steep rocks, probably representing the rocks of Bîgeh, which can be seen in reality on one's right. Above the river are the sun, moon, and stars, and amidst the blue sky are Harpocrates and Osiris. Other reliefs show Horus slaying a monster, Osiris standing in the sacred tree, and the king worshipping various gods. On the north wall the king offers to Isis and Hathor, Osiris-Sokaris, Isis, Nephthys, and Horus. Lower down Isis, Nephthys, Horus, Âmen, and the cow-headed Isis worship the hawk which rises above the reeds of the river at the foot of the rocks of Bîgeh, on which a vulture perches, and under which is a cave surrounded by a serpent and containing a figure of Hapi. This is intended to represent the source of the Nile. On the front of this building is a Demotic inscription in red letters mentioning Aurelius Antoninus Pius and Lucius Verus, and giving them titles derived from conquered provinces. Just to the north of this gateway there are traces of a temple, of which the platform and a few scattered blocks from the walls alone remain. There are here no traces of gods' names or kings' cartouches by which to name the place; but formerly some inscriptions were found which showed that it was built by Claudius and was partly dedicated to Harendotes; while other inscribed blocks built into the Coptic church which stands just to the north also named Claudius as the builder. To the south of Hadrian's gateway is the Nilometer, on the walls of which are Demotic, Hieratic, and Coptic inscriptions. Farther to the north is a ruined temple of Augustus, built in the eighteenth year of his reign. A paved court fronts the temple, and pink granite pillars lie fallen on the ground, and on an architrave there is a Greek inscription. Here Capt. Lyons found the trilingual inscription of Cornelius Gallus, which is now in the Cairo Museum. Beyond this, at the extreme north of the island, stands the Roman Town Gate, built with three arches, the side arches being lower than the middle arch. A domical stone vault is to be seen in the west arch, but that of the east arch has fallen. It is probable that this gateway was erected by Diocletian. A flight of steps leads up from the water to the gateway. Walking now towards the south-east one passes another large ruined Coptic church, and presently the Temple of Hathor is reached, which stands immediately to the east of the second pylon. It consists of a hall and a pronaos, the other chambers being now destroyed. The hall had six pillars on either side, and screen walls joined them; but the pillars are now only standing in part. Entering the hall one sees on the south end of the west wall a damaged relief showing the king worshipping Mut and Hathor, and on the opposite side Hathor is again seen. On the south wall, passing along the lower row from west to east, the following reliefs are seen: a figure standing by some reeds plays a double reed pipe: the king offers a festal coronet to Isis; a figure plays upon a harp; the king offers flowers to

The Temple of Hathor.

Nephthys; a small figure of Bes beats a tambourine; the king offers systra to Sekhmet; a full-faced figure of Bes plays upon a harp; the king offers a coronet to Hathor; an ape plays upon a guitar; and the king offers wine to Isis. On the north wall a figure plays on a double pipe; another figure plays on a harp; a man carries a gazelle decorated with flowers on his shoulder; the king offers an ape amulet to Satis; he offers an ornamental sphinx to Tefnut; a full-faced figure of Bes plays a harp and dances; an ape plays a guitar; and the king offers wine to Hathor. The festive nature of these scenes will at once be observed. Hathor was the goddess of beauty and joy, and these scenes are intended to inspire the worshipper with those feelings of gaiety which were pleasing to the goddess. Other reliefs in the hall show the king in the presence of Horus, Arsnuphis, and Hathor. There is a doorway on either side of the hall; and at the east end a semi-portal decorated with Hathor-heads leads into the pronaos, the roof of which is supported by two pillars. The reliefs in this chamber are unfinished, but show the king before the usual gods: Osiris, Isis, Horus, Hathor, Åmen Rå, Mut, the Pharaoh of Senem, Satis, Arsnuphis, and others. A doorway led into the further chambers, but only the pavement of these now remains. Outside the pronaos, on the north side, the king is seen leaving his palace, with the Upper Egyptian crown on his head, and with the four standards before him: the jackal, ibis, hawk, and lock; and he burns incense before Unnefer and Isis. On the south side, the king, with the crown of Lower Egypt on his head and with the same standards before him, leaves the palace; and he worships Hathor and Horus, and Khnum and Horus. A doorway on this side admits to the pronaos, and around it are small figures of the king worshipping some nearly obliterated gods; while at the foot of each jamb is a lion holding a knife. The pronaos of this temple was dedicated to Hathor by Ptolemy VII Philometor and Ptolemy IX Euergetes; but the hall in the front and the lost sanctuary were added by Augustus. A Greek inscription reading 'Hiertia directed a prayer to Aphrodite' proves that the temple was dedicated to Hathor.

The Kiosk.

Just to the south-east of this temple is the famous Kiosk, sometimes called 'Pharaoh's Bed'. Fourteen pillars with floral capitals support the architrave, which on the outside is decorated with a concave cornice. Screen walls rise between the columns on which reliefs were intended to be sculptured; but only two of them have been decorated. Wide doorways at the east and west ends admit one to the Kiosk, and there is a smaller door on the north side. The pavement of the Kiosk does not now exist, and perhaps it was never laid down. The only two reliefs show Trajan burning incense before Unnefer and Isis, and offering wine to Isis and Horus. On the east side of the Kiosk the terrace or quay still exists, and originally this seems to have been walled in, thus forming another chamber.

Between the Kiosk and the Great Pylon there is a small undecorated chapel in late style, having a pedestal in it on which a statue probably stood. The girdle wall passing along the east of the main temples should be observed. The stones are not laid in horizontal lines, but in sweeping curves, these undulations being intended to give strength to the wall. This method of building will be noticed in many of the Ptolemaic and Roman buildings in Lower Nubia.

El Hesseh Island.

This large island has only one inscription cut upon its rocks. This is shown on Plate XVIII, No. 1, and is to be found on the east side of the island, exactly opposite the larger of the two mosques of El Belâl which stand on the east bank. On the north side of the island there are two cemeteries of Roman date now destroyed by the water. Near one of these lay a granite pedestal intended to support three statues. A Greek inscription along the front face reads: (1) ΒΑΣΙΛΕΑΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΝΚΑΙΒΑΣΙΛΙΣΣΑΝΚΛΕΟΠΑΤΡΑΝ (2) ΘΕΟΥΣΦΙΛΟΜΗΤΟΡΑΣΚ ΑΙΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΝΤΟΝΥΙΟΝΑΥΤΟΝ (3) ΙΣΙΣΚΑΙΟΡΟΣ. Below this a small Demotic inscription is cut. The writer had this pedestal removed to Philae, and it now stands near the west door of the Temple of Isis. At the extreme south end of the island there is a large pink granite naos, broken in two pieces. At the top are the usual uraei, cornices, and winged disk. Down either side there is an inscription giving the cartouches of Ptolemy IX Euergetes II, who is said to be beloved of Isis of Abaton. Part of a granite pillar lies near by. To the north of this is another Roman cemetery, now destroyed by the water.

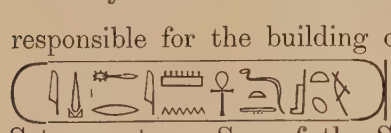
Other Islands.

None of the other islands appear to have any graffiti or ancient remains upon them. They were too much involved in the cataract to be accessible for the cutting of inscriptions.

Dabôd.

Situation. The village of Dabôd lies about eighteen kilometres above the barrage. The temple stood originally a short distance back from the river, with a strip of cultivated land in front of it. The barrage, however, has raised the water in the winter so that it covers the main part of the temple, its level being R. L. 105. As it stands on alluvial ground it cannot for long resist the power of the water, and it must inevitably fall unless it is elaborately strengthened or bodily removed. Its preservation is much to be desired, as, with the exception of Dakkeh, which will also be flooded, it is the only temple in Lower Nubia built by a native Nubian king. To the north of the temple there is a fair-sized village rising on the hill-side, and to the south there are a few houses. Behind it the scenery is very magnificent; jagged points of dark rock protrude from smooth drifts of vividly yellow sand, while in the distance the hills gather together into a series of ranges. The palms still stand in the water in front of the temple, but these will not last for long. During the summer, when the water is low, the strip of ground on which these palms rise is made to produce a small quantity of vegetables.

History. The ancient Egyptian name for Dabôd is not known with any certainty, but one is tempted to see in it the , , or , which occurs so frequently in the inscriptions at Philae and elsewhere. This word reads *'Et-u'byt*, and *Dabôd* might well be the modern rendering. In Greek times 'Et-u'byt was named Abaton, and it is generally identified with Philae; but this is not certain. A stele of Âmenemhât II, now at Berlin, was found here, which shows that the town was in existence as early as the Twelfth Dynasty. It was

then probably a military outpost in connexion with the garrison at Aswân, and this may account for the 'Pan-graves' found here. The King of Nubia who is responsible for the building of the temple is named  'The King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Rântâa-Setepenneterw, Son of the Sun Âzkhârâmen, Living for ever, beloved of Isis'. Ptolemy VII, who seems to have lived just after Âzkhârâmen's reign, added a Greek inscription on one of the temple walls. The temple was embellished by Ptolemy Euergetes II, and in later times Augustus and Tiberius added some reliefs. Diocletian ceded Dabôd with the main part of Lower Nubia to the Nubae, whom he brought from the Oasis of El Khârgeh to act as a buffer state between Egypt and Ethiopia, and more especially to defend the lower Nile from the attacks of the Blemmyes. The temple was still unfinished at that date, and the introduction of Christianity into the country prevented its completion. In 1868 an earthquake shattered the vestibule, and other parts of the building, and since then there have been other falls of masonry.

Religion.

The most important deity to the inhabitants of Dabôd was, of course, Isis; and in the temple she is represented generally in connexion with Osiris-Unnefer and Harpocrates. The other deities worshipped in the temple were Thoth, Khnum, Min, Âmen Râ, Shu, Mut, Hathor, Nephthys, Sekhmet, Nekheb, Wazet, and some others now defaced. Âmen Râ is, in one place, called 'Lord of the Throne of the Two Lands in Bîgeh, Bull finding his place in Abaton.'

The Temple.

The temple buildings were made up as follows:—On the edge of the river there was a terrace or quay, from which a paved way led to the front gate, which was built into the enclosing wall of the courtyard. Beyond this gate a second and a third were passed through, though these seem to have had only an ornamental value. The main building was then reached. Along its face there was a portico the roof of which was supported by four columns connected by screen walls. A doorway in the middle led into the hall, and from this another door opened into an antechamber, in the back wall of which a third door led into the sanctuary. From the antechamber a door on either side opened into a long narrow chamber, that on the north side being intended for the keeping of the sacred utensils, and that on the south side for a vestry. The priests could approach the latter by way of a narrow passage which ran along the south side of the building, and they would thus avoid passing through the public parts of the temple. From this side of the temple a stairway ascended to the roof. On the south of the portico a wing was added at a later date, but it is now much ruined. The quay is now under water in winter; in summer ten tiers of masonry blocks sometimes can be seen, and one is able to make out the stairway which was built into the stonework. The pavement around the temple has all been dug away by the natives during the last century, and the thresholds of the doorways and floors of the chambers are high above the level of the ground outside, the foundations thus being entirely exposed. The first gateway is ornamented with the usual cornice and disk. The granite pivot on which the door swung is still *in situ*. The threshold of the second gateway is of granite. On the upper part of this building there is a much damaged Greek inscription giving the name of Ptolemy VII and Queen Cleopatra.

The third doorway has lately collapsed, and lies in a confused heap on the ground. The portico of the temple has also fallen, and fragments of the capitals of the columns, never finished by the sculptor, are to be seen on the ground. On the standing front wall of the temple 'Autocrator Caesar' is represented worshipping Isis, Osiris-Unnefer, Thoth, Khnum, and a lion-headed god whose name is not readable. As one enters the roofless pronaos the reliefs on the inner sides of the doorway are seen to represent Horus and Thoth pouring a vessel of holy water over the approaching worshipper, while behind them 'the Chief Reader-priest, the Chief Scribe of the North and South', the demigod Imḥotep, sees that the necessary ritual is said. The walls of the hall are covered with reliefs, some of them much damaged, showing the Nubian King Ȧzkhȧrȧmen adoring the gods of Dabôd. Passing into the antechamber one finds there a large naos of pink granite, broken in two pieces and overthrown. It is inscribed with what appear to be the names of Ptolemy Euergetes II, but the inscription is very hard to read. The remainder of the temple is uninscribed, but these innermost rooms are the best preserved, the walls and roof being more or less intact, whereas in the front rooms the outer walls bulge and lean in all directions. In the room on the north side of the antechamber, i. e. that in which the ceremonial objects of value were kept, there is a man-hole in the floor, opening into a narrow passage, which leads up a flight of steps into a secret chamber constructed in the thickness of the wall. The place was observed by Miss Edwards in 1875, but it is now inaccessible. It was evidently the treasure room of the temple, in which the more valuable objects were hidden.

From the outside the temple appears to be very much ruined, except at the west end, where the outer wall has retained its smoothness, and the neatly cut cornice still keeps its sharp lines. The girdle wall of the courtyard is fairly perfect in parts. Like the temple it is constructed of sandstone, but it is not well built, being only one stone thick with the interstices filled with small stones. The courses are laid in the curved formation already described at Philae.

Preservation.

The preservation of the temple from utter ruin can only be effected by the immediate undertaking of restorations; and it is very doubtful whether the pronaos, which is the only inscribed part of the temple, will stand through the winter. It has been shown above that the west end of the temple is in good preservation. This part can be held together by cementing, building, and pinning. The pronaos can be restored by rebuilding its pavement, and running iron girders across from wall to wall to check the tendency to fall inwards. The chambers on either side of the pronaos must be left in their present ruined condition, but sufficient building must be undertaken to prevent further falls. The two doorways in front of the temple must be supported by underpinning and by a casing of stone around their base. The fallen doorway need not be rebuilt for the present. The result of one's work here will thus be the preservation of two doorways, the pronaos, and the chambers at the west end of the temple. It may be argued that this is not sufficient to trouble about; but it must be remembered that whether the ruins are extensive or small, fine or insignificant, beautiful or ugly, they represent a period in history, and, moreover, they are one of the very few memorials of the kingdom of the Twelve Schoinoi. One matter which, like so much in Lower

Nubia, was never reported to the Director-General, should here be recorded. Almost the whole of the south side of the temple, and a great part of the fallen doorway on the east of the temple has been systematically quarried away; and as the photograph here published (Plate XVI, No. 3) shows that the doorway had not fallen a few years ago, this quarrying must have occurred within quite recent years. About 250 large blocks of stone have been entirely removed.

The Quarries.

The quarries from which the stone for the building of the temple was cut are situated about a kilometre to the west, amongst the rocky hillocks and smooth sand-drifts of the desert. They are not extensive, and they have no inscriptions of any kind upon them. A walk up to them, however, repays the visitor, as the view is extremely fine from the higher ground.

The Cemeteries.

In the high ground to the north-west of the temple there are a few tombs cut into the hill-side, but now covered again with sand. They are said not to be inscribed, and one, into which the writer penetrated, was quite devoid of decoration. These tombs were plundered a few years ago, and the bones of the occupants are strewn over the hill-slopes. To the south of the temple, beyond a sandy valley, there are a number of tombs of a very poor kind, mostly untouched. They are marked by small mounds of stone; while here and there some broken pottery of Roman date and a few white bones show where the inquisitive native has ransacked one of the graves. Some of these tombs are somewhat curious in form. Three or four coffin-shaped basins have been neatly cut into a flat-surfaced outcrop of rock, and, when the body was placed inside, each was covered by a heap of rough stones. These cemeteries are evidently those of the poorer classes, and are hardly worth excavating for the present, as they are above the highest level to which the water will rise. An extensive 'Pan-grave' cemetery or town-site lies just to the south-east of the temple (Plate LXXIX), and must be excavated before the water is raised.

From Dabôd to Tâfeh: East Bank.

Dîmri.

The antiquities on this side of the river are few in number. In the village of Dîmri there are traces of a quay wall, and the substructure of a small temple of Roman date; but very little of it now remains. One large block of hewn stone has a curious legend attached to it. During the Mameluke occupation of this country there lived a woman named Gamr ('Moon'), who acquired great wealth, which she buried before she died. It is the opinion of some that the treasure is to be found in a valley named after her Wâdy Gamr. But others consider that the treasure lies inside or under this stone. They say that the stone gives out such peculiar noises during the night that the people who live near it are sometimes unable to sleep; and they regard this as an indication of the existence of the treasure. The noises are variously described as being like the grinding of a mill, like a *sakiyeh* or water-wheel, and like a cock crowing.

Umberakâb.

The next village, named Dehmîd, is separated from the following village, named Umberakâb, by a wide valley in which there is a small plundered cemetery. On the rocks at the south side of the mouth of this valley there are two long inscriptions cut in large size (Plate XIX, Nos. 1 and 2). The second of these gives the cartouche of an unknown king, probably of the XIIIth–XVIIth Dynasty,

whose name seems to read Ḥakarâ or Wazkarâ, and it refers to one of his nobles. The other inscription calls on persons who read it to offer a prayer for this same noble. Near here the writer obtained from a native's house the stele shown on Plate XXI, No. 1, which gives the cartouche of Àmenemhât II. At Umberakâb there is a modern pottery manufactory, which supplies a large part of Nubia. Opposite the ruins of Tâfeh stood the Roman station of Contra Taphis, but the writer could find no traces of it.

From Dabôd to Wâdy Hedîd: West Bank.

About four kilometres south of Dabôd there are some high granite rocks upon which there are the ruins of crude brick buildings. The pottery fragments lying about are all Byzantine and Coptic. The ruins are well above the water, and will be able to be studied at any time.

Dîmri. A short distance further on lies the village of Dîmri, situated amidst the rugged granite rocks. In summer and autumn, when the water is low, there is to be seen something of the remains of an ancient temple and town. Fragments of a column of sandstone and its capital, a block of granite, and a masonry wall projecting into the river still exist. The site, however, has never been explored; and now that it is flooded except during the hot weather, it will be a difficult matter to recover anything which is buried there. These ruins probably mark the site of the Roman Parembole, which is stated to be sixteen Roman miles above Syene, that place being reckoned as beginning three Roman miles below Philae. Thus Parembole is thirteen Roman miles above Philae, which would place it somewhere about here, or a little further south. A short distance north of the ancient walls there is a peninsula of clay and rock to which the river reaches in winter. The water has laid bare some of the graves which had been dug in the clay, and many bones lie at its brink. One skeleton, which was about to fall into the water when the writer visited the place in 1906, showed that the bodies were buried in a contracted position, as in prehistoric times, although the fragments of pottery lying at the water's edge were of Roman date. A few metres to the south there are some small tunnels cut in the rubble, and now partly exposed by the water. These tombs contain rough stone sarcophagi of Roman form, having flat lids without decoration; but their contents have been robbed. One may suppose that these burials belonged to officers of the Roman garrison, while the contracted burials were of the native inhabitants.

Morgos. On the island of Morgos, a few kilometres above Dîmri there are some ruins of crude brick, which are probably the remains of a Christian monastery of the name, it may be supposed, of Markos. A main building can be discerned rising amidst the granite boulders, and there are outbuildings at the southern end of the island. Part of these only will be out of danger of the water when the barrage is raised. Much Roman and Coptic pottery lies about.

Dehmîd. About two kilometres south of Morgos there are a number of groups of tumbled granite rocks, which in winter become islands, but at low water are joined to the main land. On one of these rocks there is a fine Greek inscription, of which a photograph is shown on Plate XVII, No. 4. The inscription faces towards the west, and at present is out of water both in summer and winter. The first three

lines read :—ΛΙΔΑΥΤΟΚΡΑΤΟΡΟCΚΑΙCΑΡΟCΝΕΡΟΥΑΤΡΑΙΑΝΟΥCΕΒΑCΤΟΥΓΕΡΜΑΝΙ ΚΟΥΔΑΚΙΚΟΥ. The writer was unable to stop to copy the seven following lines, which required to be closely studied as they were somewhat indistinct ; but the inscription is probably known, and is always accessible to the archaeologist. The houses on the rocks above it form the north end of the hamlet of Wesîyeh, which is part of the village of Dehmîd. Somewhere in this neighbourhood was the Roman station of Tzitzi, which was fourteen Roman miles north of Tâfeh. About half a kilometre south of this inscription the granite rocks abruptly cease, and the sandstone reappears. Some 200 metres south of the point at which the change takes place, and near the southern houses of Wesîyeh, there is a group of hieroglyphical inscriptions of considerable size. These inscriptions are of some length, and are cut on the sides of the shelving sandstone rocks. One of them was too much blurred to read easily in the light in which the writer saw it ; but the six others are given on Plate XIX, Nos. 3–8. As they are of very considerable interest, and relate to early wars in Lower Nubia, they should be visited and copied more carefully.

Near the southernmost end of Dehmîd there stands the hamlet of Shêymeh, and on the south side of the mouth of a rocky valley which lies just to the south of this hamlet there in another group of inscriptions. The most important of these (Plate XVIII, No. 11) gives the third year of what seems to be Âmenemhât II, according to the Horus name. The cartouche of Sesostris I is also inscribed here (No. 17), and there are various names of officials, some of which the writer did not copy.

Between this and Wâdy Hedîd there are one or two small cemeteries of Roman date.

Wâdy Hedîd and Ḳertassi : West Bank.

Situation.

The group of ancient sites which seems to have connected the ancient Tzitzi with Taphis, commences at the village of Wâdy Hedîd, about twenty kilometres above the barrage, and extends to the village of Ḳertassi, some three kilometres further to the south. In winter the houses of Wâdy Hedîd, built on the low sandstone rocks, are lapped by the river ; and the wâdys are filled with water for some distance back, having thus the appearance of tributary streams. The village stands at the mouth of one of these wâdys, and another larger creek separates this neighbourhood from that of Ḳertassi. The temple of Ḳertassi stands on a plateau of rock, fortunately above the highest level of the water. It overlooks the river, and is a landmark for some miles in either direction. The ruin outlined against the sky, with its delicate columns rising from the rocks, forms a picture of the greatest charm. The fortress, which is some distance further to the south, stands in water in winter ; and when the barrage is raised it will disappear during that season.

History.

Unfortunately there is no mention of the original name of this site in the inscriptions. The name Tzitzi may perhaps correspond to the *-tassi* in the word Ḳertassi, the *Ḳer-* being a prefix. There are no antiquities of any kind which can be dated to a period earlier than that of the Ptolemies, and it does not seem to have been a place of any importance until the quarries were first worked here.

These quarries were extensive, and from them the stone for building Philae temple was mainly obtained. The tombs at Wâdy Hedîd are Ptolemaic in character, but now that the water has flooded all but the plundered graves on the higher levels, one is unable to say at what date the town was founded. In Roman times there was a garrison here, and the place was largely peopled by Greek quarrymen.

Wâdy Hedîd.

Amongst the houses towards the north end of this village, just at the mouth of a narrow valley, there stands a column of sandstone with an unpretentious fluted capital, and near it are the bases of three other columns. This evidently is the ruin of a small temple, and between it and the water there is a large quantity of broken stones which seems to form the remains of the ancient town. The site stands low and will be lost when the water is raised. At the south end of the village the hill-side at the mouth of another wâdy contains some five-and-twenty rough tombs, a few being well worked, and the others the merest holes in the soft rock. None of them are inscribed. One or two of the tombs are constructed in the form of a pit or shaft, with a few steps leading down; and at the bottom a small door leads into the burial chamber.

Kertassi Temple.

This temple, though much ruined and of very small size, is one of the gems of the country, and one is grateful to the original architect for having placed it on ground high enough to be out of reach of the water-levels of the present age. The temple is built in the form of a single small chamber, not unlike the Kiosk at Philae. There are four upright columns, and their well-executed floral capitals are of the greatest beauty. The screen walls connecting the columns are preserved on the east, north, and west sides, but that on the south is destroyed. On the north there is the entrance door, on either side of which is a Hathor-headed column; and on the west there is a small door. The columns still support one of the cross beams, but the rest of the roof has fallen. On one column there is a relief showing the figure of the king before Isis and Horus, but there are no inscriptions, and the temple is otherwise undecorated.

The Quarries.

The quarries lie to the north, west, and south of the temple, the last being the most extensive. These extend along the river's edge and also back on the high levels of the rocks for over a kilometre. The inscriptions and graffiti, however, are confined to a fine quarry which lies about half way between the temple and the fortress. This quarry is entered by a narrow passage cut through the rock just as in the case of the quarries at Gebel Silsileh. On the sides of the passage there are some votive stelae, two of which are dedicated to Osiris. A hawk is also engraved on the stone here. On the west wall of this quarry there are a large number of Greek inscriptions, Egypto-Roman figures, &c. There is here a shrine or niche in which the statue of a deity may have been placed; the front is worked in the form of an Egyptian doorway, with uraei and the sun's disk above, and pillars up either side. To the right and left of this there is a Roman bust cut in high relief, the face being in each case damaged. The togas and hands, however, are well preserved. These busts probably represented a certain Gaius Dioscuros Julius Macrinus, who records, in a Greek inscription, that he held the office of Priest of the Carrying of the Stones (*Gomos*) under Severus, Caracalla, Maximinus, and Philippus Arabus, for a total period of about fifty years, in which he had spent about £300 sterling from his own pocket.

The main part of the quarry wall is covered with upwards of fifty Greek inscriptions, each having some six or eight lines of well-cut Greek letters, and each being enclosed in a rectangle with a triangular tag at either end. There is also one inscription in Demotic. These inscriptions are ex votos, of the time of Antoninus Pius, Marcus Aurelius, Severus, Caracalla, and Gordian, and are addressed to Isis, Sruptikhis, and Pursepmunis. They were mostly engraved by the priests presiding over the carriage of the stones, and one of them mentions that 110 stones were cut by a certain Orsēs. Philae is referred to as being the temple for which the stones were intended. The gods Sruptikhis and Pursepmunis are of Nubian origin, and seem to have been patrons of Ḳertassi, the latter being identified also with Osiris. On the lower part of the wall there are several figures of Isis, &c., cut in relief, some being represented full face. Considerable damage was done to this quarry four or five years ago by the reworking of the south walls in order to obtain stone for building purposes, but fortunately the work was stopped.

The Fortress.

The fortress of Ḳertassi is situated on the edge of the river about $1\frac{1}{2}$ kilometres south of the temple. It is a large rectangular enclosure surrounded by a strong masonry wall, still rising in parts to a height of some six metres. The main gateway is on the north side, and there are other entrances on the south and west. The former has the usual concave cornice, and on the sides are a few scratchings, including one of a figure of Isis. The enclosure wall is constructed of two skins of masonry with a space between formerly filled with rough stones, and is a valuable specimen of this type of building. Inside the wall, against its north side, there is a solid mass of masonry, which may have formed some kind of tower; and at about the centre of the enclosure there is another solid construction, which in all probability was the main tower or citadel. In 1812 Legh saw, in the south-east corner of the enclosure, a small 'temple of Isis', possessing 'six beautiful columns of 3 ft. diameter'; but this has now vanished. On the west side of the fort one may trace the line of the ancient moat. Within this enclosure the village of Ḳertassi was built, but when the barrage was made the place was flooded, and the village was reconstructed at a higher level. In summer, when the site is dry, the enclosure is found to be full of broken stones, ruins of houses, and fragments of the original construction; but in winter only the walls and gateway are to be seen.

Preservation.

For the preservation of the ruins here some small works should be undertaken, and a gaffir should be appointed to look after the site, as the nature of the remains does not permit of them being put under lock and key. The temple might be slightly patched up; and the floor which has been pulled up in search of treasure might be replaced. Nothing can be done to the fortress, but it should be carefully planned and photographed, and traces of the lost temple should be searched for.

It will perhaps be as well to record here a Greek inscription which the writer observed on a rock about 100 metres north of the fortress. There is a possibility that it has not been published, as it is to be found some distance from the quarry inscriptions. It reads: (1) ΜΝΗΜΗΝΠΑΤΝΟΥΕΙ (2) ΠΑ////////Η///ΟΥΕΙ ΕΑΓΩ (3) ΕΘΙ////////ΕΝΕΤΩΝ////// (4) ΕΞΗ/////ΩΝΤΑΤΕCΑΡΕC.

From Ḳertassi to Tâfeh: West Bank.

Along this short stretch no ancient remains are found on this side of the river, and there was certainly no settlement or town here. A thorough examination of the ground requires to be made, nevertheless; though it is to be feared that whatever did exist here has now been destroyed by the yearly flooding.

Tâfeh.

Situation. Tâfeh is one of the most beautifully situated villages on the Nile. At this point the hills fall back somewhat, leaving a bay about two kilometres across. To the south the magnificent granite rocks of the Bâb el Kalâbsheh shut in the view, and to the north and west the lower sandstone rocks confine the scene. Along the ridges at the back of the bay the houses of the village rise, and here a whitewashed mosque stands out conspicuously against the blue sky. On the lower level there is a profusion of palms and sycamore trees, which in winter rise from the water, but in summer and autumn stand amidst crops of beans and other vegetables. The various ruins stand at different parts of the bay, and on the hills around; and they are therefore partly flooded when the water is high. The best time to see the place is in early November, when the reservoir is still empty and the weather already cool. Tâfeh is about thirty kilometres above the barrage, and it is therefore by no means difficult of access.

History. The ancient name of the place was Taphis, but this is not found in hieroglyphical form. Its position is of considerable strategical importance, as it lies just at the mouth of the Bâb or Pass, where originally there was a cataract. On the east bank there was the Roman fort of Contra Taphis, which is given in the Itinerary of Antoninus as ten Roman miles below Talmis or Kalâbsheh; and on the west bank the same list calls Taphis itself eight Roman miles below Talmis. There are no ruins here which are to be dated earlier than the Roman occupation, and all the existing buildings seem to have been built at about the same time as the temples of Ḳertassi and Kalâbsheh. In A.D. 300 Taphis became part of the Kingdom of the Blemmyes, who had conquered the Romans; but in the sixth century the Christian Nubian king Silko penetrated as far as this town, defeating the Blemmyes who were still living there. In later times the various ruins were turned into monasteries and churches, and an early Arabic MS. gives the general name as the Monastery of Ansoun, and refers to the solid construction of the walls. In the house of a native in the village is a small Coptic stele, the inscription upon which is shown on Plate XXVII.

The Ruins. The ruins at Tâfeh consist of two temples, one of which has almost entirely disappeared, and a large number of dwelling-houses constructed of heavy masonry blocks. It will be best to describe first the latter buildings. At the north-west end of the bay there is a group of six of these houses. They each consist of a powerful enclosure wall forming a rectangle, of which the sides are generally 16 or 18 metres in length; and a number of internal chambers now ruined and more or less indistinguishable. The height of these walls is still in parts 4

and 5 metres, and originally all the walls must have been at least 5 metres high. The roofs, now fallen in, were partly constructed of stone, and, as will be seen later, were perhaps partly built of vaulted brickwork. Fragments of ornamented doorways, &c., are lying about, the usual decoration being the winged disk and row of uraei. This group of buildings is perhaps to be regarded as the quarters of the governor of the place, since it consists of the largest and best situated of the houses. Between here and the temple there are four or five enclosures, of which the most northerly is the best preserved of all the buildings. Its measurement is 17 metres by 12·50. Entering by the doorway at the south-east corner one passes into a long entrance hall, at the end of which another doorway leads into a small anteroom. A passage on the left-hand side leads to a second anteroom, which again gives on to a chamber which may have been the sleeping- or living-room. From the passage a doorway on the left side leads up to the raised hall which occupies the middle of the building, and was probably the reception-room. Perhaps this was also approached from the entrance hall by a short flight of steps. The roofing was mainly of stone, but the reception-room may have had a vaulted brick roof. It will be realized that these stone-built rooms must have been very cool in summer, and it is probably for this reason that they were built in such a solid manner. The isolated position of each building, and the lack of loop-holes or turrets shows that they were not constructed of such fine masonry for defensive purposes. In time of war they would have been nothing else but traps for the defenders. To the west of the temple two small enclosures stand, and near to it there is another which may have been occupied by the chief priest. Only the outer walls stand, and in one case there seems to have been a cornice topping the wall about $2\frac{1}{2}$ metres from the ground. Here it is quite certain that the roofing must have been of brick.

The temple stands not far from the river, and early travellers speak of a flight of steps which led to it from a quay, but this has entirely disappeared. The little building is almost perfect, and only a part of the west wall has fallen. It consists of a single chamber, the roof of which is supported by six columns with floral capitals. On the north side is a recess for the altar; while the main entrance is on the south side, and is ornamented with an elaborate cornice. Originally there was probably a portico on the south side, and the whole temple stood on a platform which, under the main building, consists of six tiers of masonry, making a height of three metres from the ground. But these foundations were, of course, not exposed. There are no decorations on the temple walls. Another temple, still standing at the south west side of the bay in 1870, has now almost totally disappeared; and the natives still speak casually of how it was broken up to supply stone for their houses. Regarding this building they have a curious story to tell, which relates how travellers returning to Tâfeh from the north see the temple standing as it used to do, but as they approach nearer it vanishes.

Between the standing temple and the next ruins to the south there is a wide space over which the ancient town probably spread. Just under the towering granite rocks at the south of the bay there are three more enclosures, one of which

measures 15 by 13 metres. The internal walls are ruined and pulled to pieces. From behind these ruins a rough, and now almost entirely demolished, stairway led to the summit of the rocks. Here, commanding perhaps the finest view in Egypt, stand the well-preserved ruins of three buildings. The northern building consists of a rectangular wall of good masonry, enclosing a space which was apparently filled with earth and stones, thus forming a platform some 3 or 4 metres in height. Upon this basis rises a large chamber, the walls of which are made of crude brick, the roof being vaulted. Set in the brick-wall at the south end there was a masonry doorway, which is now broken and has fallen. The ornamentation on the fragments shows a mixture of Roman and Egyptian architectural designs, and is a beautiful piece of work. A smaller doorway in the east wall led into an anteroom also with a vaulted roof. The southern building has its lower part also constructed of well-laid masonry blocks; but here these rise higher than the floor-level of the chamber which is built above. This chamber is of crude brick, and its roof was flat, being supported by cross-beams. Around the walls runs a brick bench which seems to have been faced with stone. The doorway in the north wall is now destroyed, but fragments of its ornamental cornice can be seen. Between these two buildings there is a smaller brick chamber which has had a vaulted roof. The broken ground upon which the group of buildings stands has been levelled into a kind of platform, on which there are traces of smaller buildings. The view from here is indeed superb. To the north the town and temple of Tâfeh is overlooked, and beyond this the Nile is seen flowing towards the distant hills. To the south and west the tumbled granite boulders and ragged hills extend as far as the eye can see. To the east one looks sheer down on the river as it winds between the sombre cliffs, and here and there one catches a glimpse of a little bay in which stand a few palms or other trees, looking wonderfully green against the purple-brown of the rocks. Up here all the coolness of the north wind is felt; and it does not require much effort of imagination to suppose that these buildings formed the pleasure-house of the Roman governor of Tâfeh—a copy, in idea, perhaps, of the palace of Tiberius on the cliffs of Capri. The buildings were certainly not used as a fortress or even as watch-towers, for they have no defensive walls, and do not command the view towards the south which would be necessary.

Looking again at the remains of the Roman town, one now sees how the natives of Lower Nubia were enslaved and driven to quarry the necessary stone for the building of these cool houses in the plain, and this pavilion on the cliffs. Gardens no doubt, surrounded the houses; and the Roman officers seem to have made every effort to render their life comfortable in this distant post. Everywhere traces of elegant ornamentation are found; and there must be many remains still unexcavated. For the best part of the Roman occupation there was little danger of attack at Taphis, the frontier being many miles to the south, and there being several Roman stations between them. Thus the officers could amuse themselves here as well as they were able so far from Rome.

The quarries from which the stone was obtained for the building of the houses and temples lie at the west of the bay, but no inscriptions were found there. Not far from this there is a mediaeval cemetery in which are many Cufic inscriptions.

On the rocks at the south of the village there are two short inscriptions of the Middle Kingdom, shown on Plate XXVII, Nos. 2 and 3.

Preservation.

It will be seen from the above account that the ruins are of very considerable interest, and an effort should be made to preserve them. The barrage even at its present height floods the bay in which the ruins are situated, and covers most of the masonry buildings; but these are so heavily built that for the present they do not require any strengthening. They should, however, be excavated, planned, photographed, and published as soon as possible. The temple stands on slightly raised ground, but as the water thoroughly soaks the foundations, which stand on earth, there is very great danger of a collapse. Threatening cracks are already noticeable, and there is a doubt whether the building will stand through the coming inundation. A solid underpinning and banking of stone and cement must be undertaken; the damaged west wall must be restored, and girders must be pinned along the roof to check the present tendency to fall outwards. The lintel of the main doorway is broken and requires supporting. In one way the flooding of the site has rendered a service to the interests of archaeology, for it has destroyed the village which clustered around the ruins, and no longer is the temple used as a stable, though it is still a playground for children during the summer. A few ruined houses still partially hide the temple, and require to be pulled down.

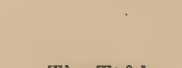
As regards the buildings on the hill-top it would be no difficult matter to rebuild the broken doorways, and to give the place something of its original appearance; while the pathway up the hill could be easily remade. No one who visits this ruin will hesitate to realize how necessary it is to preserve such an interesting relic of the Roman occupation.

From Tâfeh to Kalâbsheh: West Bank.

Immediately after leaving Tâfeh one enters the Pass known as Bâb el Kalâbsheh, and the scenery for the next few miles is magnificent. At the mouth of the pass there are some inscriptions on the rocks, but these are mostly unreadable, having been lightly scratched on the scaling surface of the granite. One seems to read ; another ; and a third, with which is a drawing of a man, reads . Two or three kilometres further to the south there are some more graffiti which are again almost impossible to read. The name Àntef occurs in one inscription, and another tantalizing graffiti begins 'Year Ten', but after this is utterly unreadable.

Khartûm.

A number of islands are presently passed, upon the largest of which there are some ruined houses of modern times. About half a kilometre south of these ruins, the village of Khartûm lies at the mouth of a valley on the west bank. A number of rocks forming islands in winter, but being connected with the main land in summer, lie some distance in front of the village. On the largest of these groups there are a few inscriptions, which are shown on Plate XXVII (Nos. 5, 6, and 7). The most important of these, No. 5, states that Isis of Philae owns the country for the thirty *schoinoi* between the two *wepwat*, which in this case means 'frontiers'. A *schoinos* is usually reckoned about $7\frac{1}{2}$ miles, and thus the thirty schoinoi give

the exact distance between the First and Second Cataracts. It would be interesting to know at what date this statement was made: the inscription is certainly Ptolemaic or Roman, of course. On a rock behind the village is an inscription reading  .

The Tâfeh–Kalâbsheh Road.

Behind the village of Khartûm runs the road from Tâfeh to Kalâbsheh, where there are some matters of interest for the archaeologist. One passes through the village and over the sandy slope, turning, after about a kilometre, to the north and entering a rocky valley along which the pathway runs. On a rock on the left side of the pathway there is a small inscription dated in the eighteenth year of Taharḳa,[1] a copy of which is shown on Plate XXVII, the doubtful signs being given in facsimile. Passing on up this path one reaches, after about two kilometres, an open space in which stands a small Christian ruin known as the church of *Sitteh Kasmar*. The walls of the church are constructed of rough stones, and the roof was supported by four small pillars, of which the capitals (Plate XXII) are Egyptian, and may have been taken from Tâfeh. There is a recess for the altar at the west end. Behind the church are four living rooms for the priest in charge. The nearest road to the river is directly to the east, but the road to Khartûm is more easily followed.

About four kilometres north of the temple of Kalâbsheh, there is group of three Middle Kingdom inscriptions, shown on Plate XXVII, Nos. 8, 9, and 10. Two kilometres north of the temple there is a Demotic inscription. Near it is an inscription giving the name Menthuḥotep.

From Tâfeh to Kalâbsheh: East Bank.

No inscriptions or ancient sites are found on this bank of the river until Kalâbsheh is reached. Opposite the temple there are half-a-dozen contrivances for grinding grain, cut in the rock, and perhaps dating from Roman times.

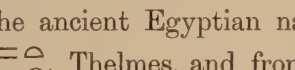
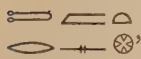
Kalâbsheh and Bêt el Wâli.

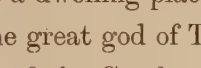
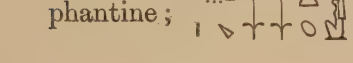
Situation.

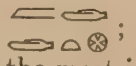
The temple of Kalâbsheh stands on the west bank of the river, about 10 kilometres above Tâfeh, and 55 south of the First Cataract. The town of Kalâbsheh comprises a large number of villages, and spreads itself over a considerable tract of country on either side of the river. The temple is a magnificent building standing at the foot of the hills, and can be seen for some distance before it is reached. The water at its present winter level covers a part of the pier or terrace of the temple, but as the floor of the building itself stands at about R. L. 108, the whole edifice will stand in deep water when the barrage is raised. This is much to be deplored, as the temple is one of the great relics of ancient Egypt, and is, as Miss Edwards has aptly called it, 'the Karnak of Nubia'. The temple of Bêt el Wâli stands higher up on the hill-side to the north of Kalâbsheh, at a point where there is a wide wâdy running up into the desert. The space between the two temples is covered by the ruins of the ancient town. The country is desolate here, but the view from the hills above the temple is wonderful. On one side

[1] Not the ninth year as is generally stated.

the Nile is seen winding between the rugged hills, and on the other the desert stretches away to the western horizon in a series of barren hills and valleys.

History. The ancient Egyptian name for Kalâbsheh was  ,  , Thelmes, and from this the Roman name of Thalmis, or Talmis, was derived. From the fact that King Amenophis II is mentioned in one part of the mural reliefs of the large temple, it may be supposed that he was the builder of the original temple; and the great activity of that king elsewhere in Nubia gives colour to the supposition. A statue, bearing the name of Thoutmosis III, was seen some years ago lying near the quay. At Bêt el Wâli Rameses II records his victories over the people of Upper Nubia. Ptolemy X records his name in one of the buildings near the great temple. This latter building was erected in the reign of Augustus, and was continued under the rule of Caligula, Trajan, Severus, and others. A decree of Aurelius Besarion, military governor of Ombos and Elephantine, A.D. 249, is inscribed on one of the walls, and orders owners of swine to remove these animals from Talmis; which suggests that the temple had fallen into disuse just previous to that reform. There is a cursive Latin inscription in the temple dated in the twelfth year of Nerva. The Roman withdrawal from Lower Nubia about A.D. 300 left Talmis in the hands of the Blemmyes, who made it their capital, remaining there until Silko, the Nubian king, conquered them. Shortly afterwards the place became Christianized, and both Kalâbsheh temple and Bêt el Wâli were used as churches. It remained thus until the end of the twelfth century when the Christians were converted to Muhammedanism at the point of the sword. Bêt el Wâli, as is indicated by its name, 'the house of the saint,' was probably used as a dwelling-place by some 'saint' of modern times.

The Gods. The great god of Talmis was  *Merul* or *Melul*, the Mandulis or Malulis of the Greeks. He belonged entirely to Kalâbsheh, and is never called anything else but 'of Talmis'. He is represented in various forms, but he is mainly regarded either as a form of Osiris or as Harpocrates. In one place he is called the 'Great God, Chief of '. In most cases he is associated with the goddess Wazet, or Buto, Lady of Pe and Dep, the two sacred cities of the Delta. He is always represented in a human form, and he may be a deified hero, just as is Petisis of Dendûr. A Neo-Platonic hymn in the temple refers to his twin brother Breith. The human sign is written at the end of his name, and not the divine . He does not seem to have been in existence as early as the Nineteenth Dynasty, for he is not mentioned in the Bêt el Wâli temple. In this temple the deities mentioned are Âmen Râ, Khnum, Min, Ptaḥ, Horus of Mââm, Horus of Beḥeni, Selkis, Satis, Anukis, Isis, and Mut. In the Kalâbsheh temple the deities, besides Melul, are Osiris-Unnefer of Abaton and Philae; Isis and Horus of the same places; Hathor of Abaton, Philae, and Bîgeh; Harpocrates of Abaton; Menthu-Harmachis of Abaton and On; Âmen Râ of Abaton and Philae; Mut of Asher; Âmen of and of Napata; Shu of Bîgeh; Min; Khnum of Abaton, Elephantine, Bîgeh, and Takens; Nekheb; Nephthys; Satis of Elephantine;  of On; Tetu of ; the 'Pharaoh of Senem (Bîgeh),

Horus son of Isis and Osiris'; Arsnuphis of  ; and one or two others whose names are illegible. Unnefer is perhaps the most important of these gods; he is sometimes called 'Prince of the Hawks'. Isis and Horus are the next most important deities. It is to be observed that Amenophis II is represented, in the single scene in which his name occurs, as worshipping Min; and it may be that that god was of local importance in the Eighteenth Dynasty.

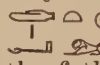
The Temple of Kalâbsheh.

The temple is intended to be approached from the river. Originally one's vessel would draw up at a quay, some six metres high, constructed of solid masonry. Mounting this one would find oneself on a broad terrace extending to right and left along the river's edge. This has a breadth of some 60 metres and leads back to a second terrace or platform, and upon this the front pylon of the temple rises, being slightly deflected from the axis. Between the upper and lower terrace there is a causeway $6\frac{1}{2}$ metres wide and 53 metres long, running out towards the river in the axis of the temple, and ending in a rectangular platform, while at the west end a flight of steps leads up to the temple. Passing through the pylon one enters the great hall, which originally was embellished with a colonnade on the north, east, and south sides. From this hall one passes through a doorway into the hypostyle hall, from which a doorway on the north and south sides leads into a court, enclosed by a high wall, two metres thick, which shuts in the western end of the temple. This may also be entered from the west side of the great hall. From the hypostyle hall one enters the vestibule, and passes on into the adytum, and finally into the sanctuary, the doors of these three chambers being in the main axis of the temple. A stairway leads from the south side of the vestibule to the roof. The whole temple is enclosed by an enormous girdle wall, starting from either side of the front pylon, and enclosing a large area. This wall is four metres thick, and is constructed like that of the fortress at Ḳertassi, i.e., with two skins of masonry, having a space between filled with loose stones. It rises at an average distance of nine metres from the inner wall. At the south-west corner of the space thus enclosed there is a rock chapel, which may have been intended as a 'Birth-house.' There was a portico in front of the door of this chapel. At the north-east corner of the temple there was again a chapel.

Present condition of Temple.

As seen at the present day, the temple is found to be in a state of great dilapidation, although the main walls are not ruined. The great hall is filled with the ruins of the fallen colonnade and its roof, and only one column remains standing. The hypostyle hall is again filled with the ruins of its roof and columns, which lie heaped in a chaotic mass over which the visitor has to climb. Only two of the original eight columns are standing. The three remaining chambers are in a similar condition, but the reliefs on the wall are not badly damaged, and still show much of their original colouring. The stairway ascending to the roof from the vestibule is well preserved, though the chambers to which it leads are much damaged. The inner and outer courts are again full of fallen blocks of stone. The quay and terraces are all fairly perfect and are most imposing. It has been thought that an earthquake is responsible for the falling of the roof and columns, and if this is so it is a matter for surprise that the walls of the temple are not more damaged also.

From the river the visitor ascends through the front gateway into the great

hall, the walls of which are not decorated with reliefs, except in the case of the western screen-walls which separate this hall from the next. On one of these, to the south of the doorway, there is an unfinished scene of the Pharaoh in the presence of Horus of  , being purified by Thoth. On another of the screen-walls to the north of the doorway there is a Greek inscription in twenty-one lines, inscribed in the sixth century A.D., by the orders of Silko, a Christian king of Nubia, who had descended the river as far as Kalâbsheh and Tâfeh in a successful expedition against the Blemmyes. The first part of the inscription reads :—

I, Silko, puissant king of the Nubians and all the Ethiopians,
I came twice as far as Talmis and Taphis.
I fought against the Blemmyes, and God granted me the victory.
I vanquished them a second time three to one ; and the first time
I fortified myself there with my troops.
I vanquished them, and they supplicated me.
I made peace with them, and they swore to me by their idols.
I trusted them, because they are a people of good faith.
Then I returned to my dominions in the Upper Country.
For I am a king.
Not only am I no follower in the train of other kings,
But I go before them.

Near this inscription is a small picture of a man in Roman dress seated on a horse, and receiving a wreath from a winged victory. Perhaps this is intended to represent Silko. The inscription is written in very bad Greek, but it is of great historical importance. Not far from this inscription is one in Meroitic or Ethiopian Demotic. On the screen-wall, next to that on which the Silko inscription occurs, is written the decree of Aurelius Besarion, also called Amonius, referred to above. On a door in the south wall there is a Neo-Platonic hymn in thirty-four Sotadaic verses, referring to Mandulis and his twin brother Breith.

In the hypostyle hall the reliefs are unfinished, and many of the scenes lack their accompanying inscriptions. On the screen-wall at the south-east side of the hall there is a fairly well-preserved Christian painting of three Hebrew figures in the fiery furnace, while an angel in the form of a child offers the central figure a sword. If the water is to be raised good copies of these figures must be made, for they will, of course, vanish at once.

On the walls of the vestibule the Roman Emperors are seen making offerings to the various gods. One may mount the stairs to the roof which lead from the small chamber on the south-east of this room. At their summit there is another short flight of steps descending again into a chamber overlooking the vestibule. A further, though somewhat dangerous, flight of steps, leads up to the top of the gateway above the hypostyle hall. On returning to the lower level, the adytum is entered, and here again the walls are covered with scenes representing the Roman Pharaohs worshipping the gods. Down either side of the gateway leading into the sanctuary there are inscriptions dedicated to Osiris of Abaton and Melul of Talmis. The sanctuary is decorated with mural reliefs in much the same manner as in the previous two rooms. The reliefs in these chambers are in many ways

interesting. The colouring is well preserved, and originally must have been painfully crude. The figures are ill-formed, and the faces quite negroid in character. The costumes of the Pharaohs and gods are elaborate, and their head-dresses multiform. The gods are often painted black as though they were negroes, and it is with some surprise that one sees the youthful Horus with skin of ebony.

The rock chapel and other outbuildings are hardly worth a visit, having nothing of particular interest, and requiring something of a climb over the fallen stones before they can be reached. When the barrage is raised the visitor will be able to sail at his ease through the different halls and chambers of the temple, that is, if the building is capable of holding together when the water gets at its foundations. Most of the temple, it is true, stands on the rock, and if it is well strengthened it may bear the strain safely; but on the north side of the court there seems to be a brick and sand foundation. The colour, such as it is, will be lost on the lower part of the walls.

Preservation.

The works which will have to be undertaken if the barrage is raised, and which ought, at any rate, to be soon undertaken, are very considerable. The main question is the removal of the fallen roofs, which fill the lower part of every hall and chamber to the depth of about four metres. Some of the blocks of stone are of huge size, and to remove them will be a great work. If the temple is to be flooded it might be as well to construct in the middle of each room a high platform of these stones upon which persons could stand when visiting the temple, and a gangway would lead from one of these islands to the other. It is absolutely necessary to clear these stones from the base of the walls, in order that their foundations may be examined and strengthened; and if a large heap is made in the middle of each room during this process, a little levelling and tidying will be all that is required to make the heap into a platform. The remains of the columns, &c., will thus not be lost, but will be placed in store, so to speak, for future generations. Of course, if the water-level is not raised it would be better, for the sake of the appearance of the temple, to remove the stones entirely, classifying those which may be required for rebuilding, and placing them in systematic order on the nearest area of open ground. It may be said that the present condition of this temple, which is one of the great buildings of Egypt, is the least satisfactory. The houses of the village, long since compensated for and deserted, still cluster round the pylon. The fallen stones in and around the temple make it impossible for the various chambers and courts to be visited without a difficult, not to say dangerous, climb. From time to time parts of the wall fall unheeded; and the writer saw in 1905 reliefs which no longer existed in 1906. There is no gate at the entrance, and the one gaffir, who even now only sees his inspector about three times in the year, does not do more than claim his *pourboire* from the visitors whom he assists in surmounting the stones[1].

All the doorways require to be restored, and their architraves supported by

[1] The work of repairing and strengthening the temple will have already begun when this report is read. The long business of making facsimile copies of the highly coloured reliefs and of the many Greek inscriptions and Coptic paintings which will disappear when the water is raised will shortly begin.

iron girders. A certain amount of other restoration is needed, and much cement will have to be used. The roofing of the inner chambers has fallen in, and only the stumps of the roofing blocks still remain in position, projecting from the walls in the form of a ledge. This protects the reliefs to a certain extent from the weather, but here and there the rain has washed away all the colour. It will, therefore, be necessary to augment this ledge with boards of wood, coloured drab to match the stone. Much Coptic plaster still remains in small fragments over the reliefs, and where this is undecorated with paintings it should be removed.

Bêt el Wâli.

The temple of Bêt el Wâli, which was constructed by Rameses II, is situated on the hill-side to the north-west of Kalâbsheh. It is a rock-cut shrine consisting of an outer court, a vestibule cut in the rock, and a sanctuary. A pathway leads up to it through the north end of Kalâbsheh village, but the original dromos is lost. The visitor first finds himself in the open court, only the two side walls of which remain, and on these are the well-known historical scenes from the life of Rameses II. Turning to the south wall the first scene at the east end shows the king in his chariot furiously charging down on the flying host of Ethiopians, and shooting arrows from his bow into their midst. Behind him in two chariots are the king's sons Amenḥerunamf and Khâmwast, the latter being described as 'the water of the god coming forth in strength'. Each of the princes has a driver in the chariot with him, and the drawing of these is most spirited. The negroes, who carry bows and arrows, dash back towards their camp amongst the dôm-palms; two warriors lead along a wounded comrade; the women and children run hither and thither in panic; and one woman looks up, terrified, from her cooking. The scene at the west end of the wall shows the king seated under a canopy, while the nobles and princes of Egypt bring the tribute of the Ethiopians to him. Amongst these nobles is Âmenemâpt, son of Paser, who was also viceroy. The tribute is shown in two lines. In the upper line are gold rings, bags of precious objects, fruit, bows, leopard skins, shields, chairs, fans, feathers, tusks, a lion, a gazelle, oxen, and finally a group of negro soldiers with spears. In the lower line are prisoners, monkeys, a leopard, a giraffe, bulls, one of which has its horns ornamented with a head and hands, women with their children, one carrying two babies in a basket on her back, a gazelle, an ostrich, and a leopard.

The above scenes refer to one of the expeditions conducted by Rameses II against the Ethiopians, after his long wars in Asia Minor had been brought to a satisfactory close. The tribute which he received from the unfortunate negroes is most interesting, and such objects as the ornamented chairs show that these tribes were not so uncivilized as one might suppose. The Viceroy Âmenemâpt no doubt carried out all the arrangements for the expedition; and with the superior arms and organization of the Egyptian troops there was probably small chance of defeat. The negro soldiers represented here before Rameses show that the Lower Nubians were as usual employed to fight their ancient enemies from Kush. On the north wall of the court the scenes refer to the wars of the king in Asia Minor and Lybia, and their representation here was intended to show the natives that the Pharaoh was as powerful at one end of the earth as at another. The first scene at the east end of the wall shows the king, with

axe raised, holding a group of Syrian captives by the hair; while the Egyptian princes lead in other prisoners, who are drawn in attitudes of the utmost despair and exhaustion. In the next scene the king is attacking a Syrian fortress, and is slaughtering a figure who appears at the top of the tower, holding a broken bow; while one of the king's sons bursts in the door with an axe. Dead warriors fall from the battlements, while other figures supplicate the conqueror, making offerings to him as though he were a god. The following scene shows the king bending forward from his chariot, which is being whirled along by a pair of galloping horses. He is in the act of striking down his Syrian enemies, who are flying before his onslaught. Then follows a scene in which Rameses is represented putting to death a kneeling figure of a Libyan, while, as an indication of the prisoner's utter humiliation, the king's pet dog is shown biting him as he kneels. At a respectful distance various princes and nobles of Egypt bow before the king. In the next portion the king, seated under a canopy, with his tame lion at his feet, receives the princes who bring in prisoners. Three forlorn old men are dragged forward, walking on tiptoe, as though from fright. Below these are other nobles bowing before the conqueror.

Through the west wall of this court three doorways lead into the vestibule, and on the east face of this wall, over the middle door, the king is seen dancing before Åmen Rå, while at the sides he stands before Min, Khonsu, Horus, &c. The vestibule is a rock-cut chamber, the roof of which is supported by two stout fluted columns, each having four perpendicular bands of inscription down it, giving the titles of the king. The middle doorway of the three is the largest, and there is reason to suppose that the other two were added somewhat later. On either side of the doorway into the sanctuary there is a niche in which sit three figures, those on the south side perhaps being the king between Isis and Horus, and those on the north the king between Khnum and Anukis, but all the figures are much damaged. On the sides of the central door as one enters the vestibule the king is seen being embraced by Åmen Rå and Mut (?). There is also the small figure of a kneeling man who is the Viceroy of Ethiopia Messuy. At the side of the north door is the figure of the king entering the chamber, wearing the crown of Lower Egypt; and at the side of the south door the king enters wearing the double crown. Inside the vestibule the scene on the south side of the east wall shows the king smiting a negro, representing his conquest of Nubia. On the south wall the king offers incense and libations to Horus and Selkis, the scorpion-goddess, while behind the king is another goddess, whose name is erased, holding the symbols of the years of the king's life. On the west wall, south of the doorway into the sanctuary is the niche mentioned above, and a scene showing the king offering the symbol of Truth to Åmen Rå of Takens. North of the doorway is a similar niche and a scene showing the king worshipping Åmen Rå. On the north wall the king is seen offering to Khnum and Satis, while behind him stands Anukis with the symbols of years. On the north end of the east wall the king smites a Syrian from 'the Lands of the North.'

From the vestibule a door leads into the Sanctuary, a rock-cut chamber at the west end of which was a niche in which three statues sat. These are now

quite destroyed, but no doubt originally represented Rameses seated between two gods. The colouring in this chamber is fairly well preserved, and is a contrast to the crude painting in the Kalâbsheh temple. On the south side of the doorway Rameses is seen embraced by Satis, and on the north side is a defaced figure of the king embraced by Maḳet, who says to him, 'I am thy mother Maḳet, the Great Lady, Lady of Heaven, wife of all the gods.' On the south side of the east wall the king is suckled by Isis, Lady of Takens; and on the north side of the east wall he is suckled by Anukis, Lady of Elephantine. The south wall shows the king offering to Horus and to Åmen Rå. On the north wall he is given 'life' by Khnum, and is supported by Satis; and in the second scene he worships Åmen Rå. On the sides of the niche in the west wall there are figures of Min and Ptaḥ, but the accompanying inscriptions are gone.

The historical reliefs of this temple have been brought to public notice by the casts which were taken from them by Bonomi at the expense of Mr. Hay, and which were finally set up on the walls of the Fourth Egyptian Room in the British Museum, being coloured from notes made by Bonomi. The process of casting has left not a vestige of colour on the originals. The remains of the brick domes which roofed the Christian church may be noticed above the walls of the court.

The Town and Quarries.

The ancient town lay mainly to the north of the temple of Kalâbsheh, on the hill-side between that and Bêt el Wâli, and to the west of the former temple on the steep slope of the hill. The houses were made of broken sandstone blocks, and the remains consist only of large masses of these blocks intermixed with broken pottery. Such fragments of pottery as were examined by the writer would indicate that the earlier town was situated near Bêt el Wâli, and that the Roman town was near Kalâbsheh temple. There is a fortified wall of broken stones which encloses the whole hill-side behind this temple, and this may have bounded the town on the west side. There are also indications of late settlements on the top of the hills. The modern village is clustered around the great temple, but the rising of the water will oblige the inhabitants to transfer their houses to higher ground. To the north-west of the temple there are some quarries in which are two Christian epitaphs, with the Pagan ending 'Grieve not: no one is immortal', noted in Murray's handbook.

The cemeteries.

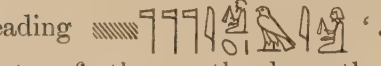
There seem to have been some tombs of a late date cut into the rock at the back of Kalâbsheh temple. There is nothing to show where the earlier cemeteries were situated, but a group of empty tombs roughly cut into the clay of a knoll to the north-west of Bêt el Wâli, may be anterior to the Ptolemiac period. The main cemeteries were situated, no doubt, in the valley which runs at the foot of this knoll, but in this case they are now under water. At various points on the hill-tops, some distance back from the river, there are groups of very curious tombs, which, from the pottery fragments in and around them, appear to date from late Roman times. The tombs are constructed in the form of circular tumuli, having a diameter of from $3\frac{1}{2}$ to 2 metres. They stand about from one to two metres high, and their sides in some cases slope sharply. They are neatly built of broken stones tightly packed, and the outside surface is remarkably smooth. In the centre of each tumulus there is a small chamber, either rectangular or roughly

circular, the sides and roof of which are formed of larger slabs of unshaped stone. The body inside must have been contracted. Stones seem to have been piled on top of this chamber, bringing the top surface of the tumulus to a flat level. All these graves have been plundered, and only a few broken bones and fragments of Roman pottery remain. Sometimes a number of these tumuli are built so close to each other that one tomb overlaps another, and loses a segment of its circle thereby. Tombs somewhat similar to these have been found in the eastern desert, and it is quite possible that these in question are to be attributed to the Blemmyes, who inhabited Kalâbsheh, as has already been said, during the late Roman period.

Inhabitants.

The inhabitants of Kalâbsheh are stated by the travellers of fifty years ago to have been quarrelsome and riotous. They never permitted a tax-gatherer or conscript-catcher to enter the neighbourhood, and travellers were greeted by them with curses or with angry demands for money. They carried spears, shields, daggers, and other weapons, with which they threatened their visitors on some occasions. Nowadays they sometimes carry spears or daggers, but the custom is fast dying out, as is also their turbulence; and visitors will find them as docile as the inhabitants of the other Nubian towns.

From Kalâbsheh to Dendûr: West Bank.

About a kilometre south of Kalâbsheh there is an inscription on the rocks reading  '. . . . Neterwâ son of Ḥorâ'. Three or four kilometres further south, above the hamlet of Dîb, there are the ruins of a Roman village; and a small building, which was perhaps a monastery, stands on the hill-top in ruins. Built into a wall of a modern house here there is a block of stone upon which a row of uraei are sculptured, as though the block had formed part of a temple cornice. Less than two kilometres further on, behind the hamlet of Abu

Abû Hôr.

Târfeh, which forms part of the village of Abû Hôr, there is a ruin on the hill-top by the side of a rocky valley. The small, well-cut blocks of stone, and a door-cornice with a well-sculptured winged disk, lead one to suppose that the building was a Roman temple. But there is a semi-circular recess in the east wall, and a Coptic cross is cut on one of the blocks; and this indicates that the place was a Christian church. A brick chamber with a vaulted roof stands near by. The little ruin is worthy of some attention, and an attempt to patch it up might be made.

Some 200 metres south of this some inscriptions are to be found, cut on a granite boulder. Some 800 metres further on there is a large and interesting inscription (Plate XXXII, No. 1) giving the titles and cartouche of a king whose date is certainly Dynasty XIII–XVII, but whose name is difficult to read. Another inscription of his is found at Medîk (Plate L) in which the cartouche reads somewhat differently. As has been said in the section on the history of Nubia, there is reason to suppose that this king was originally a chief of Wawat who, during these turbulent times, had taken the opportunity of calling himself Pharaoh. The mention of the king's officials is interesting. This important group of inscriptions is to be found on a large boulder at the north side of the mouth of a small valley. Three kilometres to the south there is a graffito

reading 'The Reader Ââkheperkarâ, renewing life'. Perhaps this personage is to be identified with the Ââkheparkarâ who has left his name at Es Sebû'a.

Some three kilometres north of the temple of Dendûr, above the hamlet of Inḳerêḳ, which forms part of the village of Morwâw, there is a rock on which is the following inscription: 'The Scribe of the offerings of all the gods Merâpt, son of the Superintendent of the Granary Pamerkaw, son of Thoutmosis of (?) the land of Horus, Lord of Mâå[m]'. This official, who here connects himself with Mâåm, although he was at the time in Wawat, has also written his name at Gebel Addeh, where he refers to Wawat, although then travelling in the sphere of influence of Mâåm. On a rock near by there is a drawing of a Nineteenth Dynasty priest, clad in a panther skin, against which is written . The graffito numbered 12 on Plate XXXII is to be seen on a rock near here. There are several uninscribed tombs excavated in the hill-side at this point, one of which has two chambers of some size. Morwâw.

From Kalâbsheh to Dendûr: East Bank.

Along this bank there is only one point at which the attention of the archaeologist is arrested. About half way between Kalâbsheh and Dendûr, in the district of Abû Hôr, there are the ruins of a Ptolemaic and Roman temple. At the water's edge, and therefore only to be seen in summer, there is an imposing terrace or quay, some 50 metres in length and over three in height, being constructed of well-cut and large blocks of stone. A broad stairway runs up from the water, and 25 metres back there is a heap of fallen stones which is all that is left of the temple. Some of these stones are covered with reliefs, and one sees 'Pharaoh' (no other name is given), dancing before a god; and several times worshipping Mandulis of Talmis. The upper part of a stele of one of the Ptolemies shows the king worshipping three gods: Mandulis of Talmis, Wazt, and another god, perhaps Khnum. Two fragmentary Greek inscriptions were also seen, reading: (1) ////ΡΟCKYNHMA (2) ////ATICICNEN (3) ////ΡICIЄΡЄωΦ (4) ////MCωCΠAPA (5) ////YPIONΠAΠTOY (6) ////C. and (1) ////IKYPIONΠAΓ (2) ////ΛΛΛΛЄωC. In the first inscription only the ends of the six lines remain; and in the second inscription the first line has lost both ends, while the second line has lost its beginning only. It would be interesting to know how it is that a temple is found at this barren point of the river. The cliffs rise precipitously immediately behind the ruins, and there could have been little room for a town. It is between this temple and Kalâbsheh that King Iâbkhentrâ (?) of the XIII–XVIIth Dynasty inscribed his name; and thus the neighbourhood may be considered to have had some political or religious importance from early times. The river here flows at a great speed, and originally there were rapids in this region. It is very unfortunate that the temple has not been excavated, for, now that the water covers it for a part of each year, the task of clearing the ruins and searching for early deposits will be difficult.

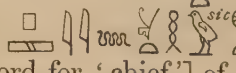
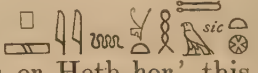
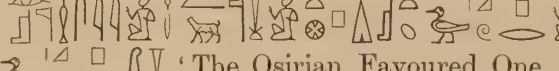
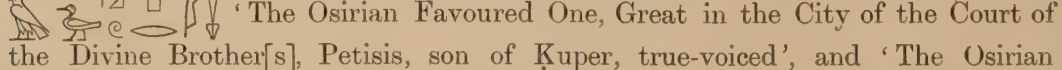
Some distance up a rugged watercourse just to the north of the temple, there

is a ledge of rock upon which the figures of a man leading a cow are depicted in red paint. The cow has a bunch of rope or ribbons around its neck, and from between its horns projects a branch of a tree, or stem of a flower. The little painting is well executed, and is probably the work of one of the priests of the temple.

It is to be hoped that this portion of the river-bank will be carefully searched at some time, for the yearly flood may still have left some antiquities accessible, and the exploration of the various sites previous to the erecting of the barrage was omitted.

Dendûr.

Situation. The imposing little temple of Dendûr stands on the side of the rocks close to the river's edge, about 19 kilometres south of Kalâbsheh, and 73 above the First Cataract. To the north and south of it, and in its courtyard, there are the remains of an ancient town, consisting of large quantities of broken stones and a certain amount of late pottery. The floor of the temple stands at R. L. 115, and the river will, therefore, thoroughly soak the foundations when the barrage is raised; but, as these stand on the rock, it is probable that they will be able to be strengthened sufficiently to hold the temple together. It is unfortunate, however, that the terrace, which is the main feature of the temple, will only be seen in summer, when the reservoir is empty.

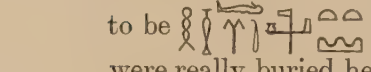
The Gods. The temple is peculiarly interesting, owing to the fact that it is dedicated to two deified Nubian heroes, Petisis and Pehorus, who seem by their names to have lived some time not earlier than the Twenty-sixth Dynasty, when those names first come into use. On the temple walls one sees these two heroes in the form of gods. They are called Chieftains of which may read 'The court of the Divine Brother[s]'. On the east side of the first gateway, the lowest panel on the right side has an inscription in which Petisis is called , and on the west side in two panels he is called  and  'The serpent [or perhaps a Nubian word for 'chief'] of Ḥethu or Ḥeth-ḥor', this being perhaps an ancient name of the district. The full names of the two brothers are  and  'The Osirian Favoured One, Great in the City of the Court of the Divine Brother[s], Petisis, son of Ḳuper, true-voiced', and 'The Osirian Favoured One, Great Divine Brother, Pehorus, son of Ḳuper, true-voiced'. Nothing else is known of the two heroes, and one must suppose them to have been chieftains or warriors who lived and died at Dendûr. In one part of the temple the brothers are shown in the act of offering to Isis; and it seems, therefore, that that goddess was recognized to be their superior. Petisis is shown in one place with a goddess or woman beside him, but her name is left blank, as though there were some doubt as to who his consort was (Plate XXXI, No. 1). As gods the two brothers are worshipped in the temple reliefs by the Pharaoh, and since these reliefs are probably of about the time of Augustus, one here has the strange spectacle of a great Caesar humbling himself before two obscure nigger heroes!

The other deities honoured in the temple are Osiris and Isis of Abaton and Philae; the various forms of Horus, i.e. Harendotes, Harmachis, Harpocrates, and Harseisis, generally of Abaton and Philae; Hathor of Bîgeh; Tefnut of Bîgeh, Abaton and Philae; Nephthys, Wazt of Pe and Dep; Åmen (ram-headed); Thoth of Penubs; Khnum of Bîgeh; Amen Rå of Abaton; and Arsnuphis of Abaton and Philae.

The temple buildings are made up as follows: There is a well-built and imposing terrace overlooking the water. From this a short causeway leads to the main gateway, from which a wall originally projected to right and left. A short way further to the west is the main building, consisting of a vestibule, having an intact roof supported by two columns with floral capitals; an antechamber also with an intact roof; and finally the sanctuary, the roof of which has fallen in. The Temple.

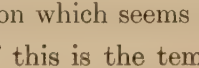
The main gateway has upon it a few reliefs. On the east face there are reliefs in small panels showing the Pharaoh before Osiris, Isis, Tefnut, Petisis, Pehorus, Khnum, Horus, &c. The reliefs inside the doorway are damaged, but on the south side the king is shown in a large relief before Isis of Abaton and Philae, and, in smaller scenes, before Horus, Osiris, Isis, and others whose names are erased. On the west face of the doorway there are scenes showing the king before Osiris, Isis, Horus, Hathor, Åmen (with a ram's head), Petisis, Pehorus, Satis, and Nephthys. Passing now to the main temple, the reliefs in the vestibule are seen to be as follows: On the eastern face of the front wall, on its south side, Horus, Thoth, and Isis are worshipped by the king; while on its north side the gods are Petisis, Amen Rå, and Arsnuphis. On the south wall of the vestibule the scenes are much damaged, but Isis, Petisis, Pehorus, Osiris, Harpocrates, &c., can be seen. On the north wall the king offers to Horus, Thoth, Tefnut, Isis, Petisis, and Pehorus. The doorway in this wall was cut at a later date, perhaps by the Christians. On the west wall, to the south of the doorway into the antechamber, the king is seen offering to Khnum and Isis; and on the north of the doorway, to Arsnuphis and Petisis. In the south wall of this chamber there is a doorway leading out into the courtyard, and on the east wall of its porch there is a long Coptic inscription stating that the Presbyter Abraham set up the cross in this temple at the command of the Nubian king Eïspanomē, when Joseph was exarch of Kalâbsheh and Theodorus bishop of Philae, i.e. in A.D. 577. At Kalâbsheh it has already been seen that the Christian king Silko invaded this country, and here one finds King Eïspanomē, who was probably of the same family, sending a Christian monk to convert the inhabitants. The doorway leading into the antechamber has upon it the figures of the gods Arsnuphis, Horus, Hathor, &c., worshipped by the king: and on either side one sees a lion holding a reed and guarding the doorway. The antechamber and sanctuary are undecorated, except for a small panel at the west end of the latter, on which the local gods Petisis and Pehorus are shown worshipping Isis of Abaton and Philae. The Outside Walls of the temple have some larger reliefs sculptured upon them. On the south wall, in the top row, are Arsnuphis and Isis, Petisis, Mandulis of Kalâbsheh and Wazet, and Amen Rå and Mut, Lady of Asher [Karnak]. In the bottom row are Unnefer and Isis, Petisis and his unnamed wife, and Horus and Hathor. The doorway into the temple is beautifully ornamented on this side: a winged disk and winged scarab are repre-

sented above the door, while down either side is a papyrus flower and stem, around which an elaborate snake twines itself. On the north wall of the temple, in the upper row, there are representations of Arsnuphis, Petisis, Khnum, and a goddess whose name is lost. In the lower row there are Isis and Horus, Pehorus, Hathor and Harmachis, and Thoth of Penubs and Tefnut.

In the hill-side at the back of the temple, and approximately in its axial line, there is a one-chambered rock tomb, the door of which was restored when the temple was built, and strengthened by blocks of stone. A kind of small court has been built in front of it, and evidently considerable care has been expended upon it. It is quite possible that this is the tomb of Petisis and Pehorus, though the place may be only the original shrine in which the brothers were worshipped. On the above-mentioned stele in the sanctuary, however, Petisis and Pehorus are said to be  'entombed in the Holy Hill', and this may mean that they were really buried here. In this case the whole temple would have to be regarded as a funerary chapel.

Not very much requires to be done here to preserve the temple. A door cannot well be put on, as the front of the pronaos is an open structure. A wall of broken stone should be built around the temple, and the masses of broken stones which lie about the courtyard should be levelled. A gaffir must certainly be appointed here, as the place is liable to damage at the hands of natives and visitors, and is of such historical importance and artistic beauty that such damage would be most regrettable.

From Dendûr to Gerf Ḥusên: West Bank.

Merîeh. About four kilometres south of Dendûr Temple, just to the south of a hamlet named Derâysh, and forming part of the village of Merîeh, there is a graffito naming a 'scribe of the treasury of the temple (?) of Anukis'. It appears to date from the late period. Five kilometres to the south, high on the cliffs above the hamlet of Farâḳaleh, there is a tower built of broken stones, about four metres square and three high. On top of it there appears to have been a brick chamber. The place was either used as a watch-tower or as a shrine. The latter is the more probable, as there are numerous footmarks of visitors cut in the stones around, while the Greek inscription ΕΙΖΕΥϹϹΕΡΑΠΙϹ 'Hail, Zeus Serapis' occurs twice. The inscriptions ΦΘΙΗΑϹ and ΦΘΙΑΥϹ also occur; while near a drawing of a dog and a scorpion are written ϹΕΡΗΝ and ΛΟΥΚΙ . There are many other drawings, including horses, dogs, camels, scorpions, boats, men, men leading cattle, a man standing on a tower, shrines, &c. About a kilometre south of this there is a valley, on the south side of which are several inscriptions and drawings (Plate XXXII) which date from the XIth–XIIIth Dynasties. The curious creatures, apparently drawn by a soldier named Menthu . . . ., are cut over an inscription which seems to read  . Six or eight kilometres south of this is the temple of Gerf Ḥusên. Before the barrage is raised search will have to be made for the cemeteries which must exist along this reach.

From Dendûr to Gerf Ḥusên: East Bank.

On this bank there is again a remarkable lack of ancient remains. There are practically no traces of ancient cemeteries on the surface; but if the barrage is to be raised, the ground will have to be more carefully examined, and trial diggings should be made at the mouths of all the valleys.

About a kilometre north of Gerf Ḥusên stand the ruins of the Byzantine fortress of Sabagûra, the walls of which stretch up the hill-side. The main walls are constructed of broken stone, but the buildings inside the enclosure are mainly of brick. A walk over the hill at the back of the fortress is well worth taking, as the view is superb. A path leads up on the south side of the buildings.

Gerf Ḥusên.

Situation.

The temple of Gerf Ḥusên stands on the hill-slope on the western bank, about 14 kilometres south of Dendûr and 87 above the First Cataract. It is excavated in the rock, and is a poor and smaller copy of the great temple of Abu Simbel. A portion of the village of Gerf Ḥusên stands between the temple and the river, but when the barrage is raised this will be destroyed, and the water will come up to the edge of the rocks. The temple stands at R. L. 126, and is, therefore, quite out of danger; but Champollion speaks of traces of a pylon which stood on a lower level, and the remains of this and other early buildings will be lost.

History.

From the earliest times the cliffs of the western bank at this spot seem to have been sacred. On a group of rocks to the south of the temple there are a large number of prehistoric drawings, as well as some of the Middle and New Empire. Persons of the Middle Empire inscribed their names here, and in the Nineteenth Dynasty Rameses II selected this site for his temple. The town was situated on the east bank, opposite these sacred cliffs, and in later times it was known as Tutzis, from which the Coptic Thosh and the modern Kirsh are derived. Mr. Legh, in 1813, found a Coptic papyrus at Kirsh in which the name Thosh is given. Rameses II called his temple *Per Ptaḥ*, 'The Temple of Ptaḥ,' and it seems that this district was sacred to that god. A rough drawing of Ptaḥ occurs on the rocks near the temple, together with some inscriptions and drawings which are earlier than Ramesside times. The official who was responsible for the work of building the temple was Setaw, the Viceroy of Ethiopia. In Roman times no temple seems to have been erected here, and one must suppose that Tutzis was no longer a place of any importance. In Christian times the temple was used as a church, and a monastery was erected near by, which was probably destroyed in the persecutions of 1173 A. D.

The Gods.

The temple of Rameses II was dedicated primarily to Ptaḥ of Memphis, and secondarily to Åmen Rå, Thoth, Horus of Baki, Horus Beḥeni, Horus of Mååm, Harmachis of Wawat, Harmachis, Khnum, Nefertem, Min, Wepwat of the South, Mut, Hathor, Sekhmet, Maat (?), Satis, Anukis, Ewsos of Heliopolis, and Isis.

The Temple.

The temple is entered through an open court, originally surrounded on three sides by a covered colonnade, the eastern columns of which were lotus-formed, while the northern and southern were rectangular, and were each faced by a colossal figure of Rameses II. Most of these have now fallen, and at present only five

remain standing. The walls of the court are cut out of the natural rock, and have reliefs upon them, now practically indistinguishable. On the west wall Rameses can just be seen smiting his enemies. The north and south walls of the court, also cut out of the natural rock, each have a niche or recess cut in them, in which three mutilated figures sit, representing Rameses between two gods. A doorway at the west end of the court leads into the hall, excavated in the rock, the roof being supported by six rectangular pillars faced with colossal statues of the king. One walks up the hall between the two rows of these figures, and in the gloomy half-light their ill-shaped and heavy forms appeal rather to one's sense of the grotesque than to one's reverence. Their size, nevertheless, tells to a certain extent, and makes them impressive. They are, however, in such a filthy condition, owing to the bats and birds, that they are not pleasant to look at. The whole temple is in a very dirty state, and the smell, caused by the presence of thousands of bats, is intolerable. The colossi, and such part of the walls as have no colour left, require to be washed down with water; and a door must be placed at the entrance, covered with wire netting, to keep the temple free of these bats and birds. This door will also protect the walls of the temple from being damaged by the visitor who wishes to write his name. The walls of the hall are already much damaged in this manner; and the gaffir employed by this Department has not been able to prevent it.

These colossi represent the king in Osirian form, with the crown on his head, and in his hand the crook and flail. He wears a skirt ornamented with a lion's head; and on the belt in some cases a little colour is left. On the north and south sides of the hall, behind the colossi, there are four recesses, in each of which are three figures carved from the rock, and representing the Pharaoh between two gods. In the northern recesses these deities are the Heliopolitan goddess Ewsos and Horus, Isis and Horus of Mââm, Satis and Nefertem, and Anukis and Khnum. In the southern ones they are Âmen Râ and Mut, Horus of Baki and Horus of Beḥeni, Ptaḥ-Taenen and Hathor, and Ptaḥ and Sekhmet. The much damaged reliefs on the walls and on the pillars show Rameses in the presence of the various gods already mentioned. The only scene of any interest is that on the east wall at the north side of the doorway. Here the king is seen offering to Horus and Maat (?), while between these two sits Rameses himself. The height of the vanity of this great egoist may be said to have been reached, when, at the summit of his career, he is here seen to have turned in adoration to himself as a god amongst the gods.

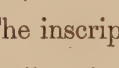
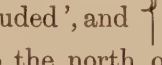
From the hall one enters the adytum, a dim chamber in which are some almost indistinguishable reliefs representing the king offering to the gods and to himself. The roof is supported by two square pillars, and, behind these, small doorways on the north, south, and west sides lead to unornamented chambers, in which are countless numbers of bats. The main doorway in this chamber leads on into the sanctuary, in the middle of which stands a small pedestal or altar, intended, probably, to support the boats of Ptaḥ and Harmachis during the ceremonies. These boats are seen in the reliefs on either side of the chamber, that on the south wall being of Ptaḥ, and that on the north wall of Harmachis. At the west end of the chamber there is a recess in which four large figures are seated,

clumsily executed and somewhat damaged. From north to south the figures represent Hathor, Ptaḥ-Taenen, Rameses, and Ptaḥ. Over the recess is a representation again of the sacred boat.

Originally the temple appears to have been brilliantly coloured; and this, no doubt, removed from it that gloominess which is now its characteristic feature. The walls, now blackened by smoke and dirt, show little of the ancient paint. The real magnificence of the temple can only be appreciated when one thinks of it as it was in Ramesside times. There was then a pylon near the water; an avenue of sphinxes led from this to the foot of the hill; a flight of steps stretched up the hill-side; a gateway stood at the head of the stairs; the court with its colonnades followed; and finally the main temple was reached.

If the barrage is to be raised the avenue of sphinxes should be excavated. Some of them were seen in modern times, but the houses have been allowed to be built over them. The foundations of the pylon at the water's edge should also be sought for and planned. The stairway up the hill-side should be excavated and restored whether the barrage is raised or not; and the court should be cleared of its rubbish. The pillars and colossi here require to be patched up with stones and cement; but in the interior of the temple no repair is required. As soon as the place has been cleaned and has been put under lock and key, a good gaffir should be appointed.

The Graffiti, &c.

At the same level as the temple, and a few minutes' walk to the south, there is a group of large boulders on which a large number of drawings and a few inscriptions are to be seen. Most of the drawings are prehistoric, and take the usual forms of that period. There are many-oared boats, giraffes, oxen, gazelles, ostriches, a lizard, and an elephant. The most interesting drawing is that of two horses, which one would be inclined to call Old Kingdom, were it possible that the horse could have been known here as early as this. The inscriptions read  'The retainer Khnumḥotep', 'The Scribe of the Temple . . . .', 'Seḥotepâbrâ son of Shuded', and  'Userḥotep.'

Three or four hundred metres to the north of the temple there stands the ruin of a crude brick building, which was probably a Christian monastery. The walls are still some five metres high, and are solidly built. The roof was formed of a series of domes, but these have fallen in. The remains of a stairway leading up to a tower at the north-west corner of the building should be noticed.

From Gerf Ḥusên to Dakkeh: West Bank.

About two kilometres south of the temple there is a large valley, at the mouth of which are two cemeteries of 'Pan-graves' which have been gutted out by robbers during the last few years. The fragments of pottery collected from these sites are classed as 'Gerf Ḥusên' and 'South Gerf Ḥusên' in the plates of the pottery. On a rock at the south side of this valley, about 100 metres from the mouth, there are a group of curious drawings and some inscriptions. The drawings on one face of the rock consist of two men with distended stomachs; a boat with sail spread; three oxen, a dog, and a gazelle; a man holding a shield; and a graffito of a

man named Hapw. On another face of the rock (Plate XXXVIII) there are two graffiti; the usual drawings of boats, gazelles, &c.; a curious drawing of a man seated on a chair with a bow and arrow in his hand; and some crude drawings of gods or persons of high rank.

Kosh-tâmneh.

From this point onwards, for several kilometres, there are no ancient sites of any size. The rocks come down close to the water, and drifts of sand lie against them. Here and there are indications of 'Pan-graves' or Graeco-Roman burials, which show that the desert here requires to be carefully searched. At the point where the desert opens and the hills recede, there is a large Graeco-Roman cemetery which seems to have escaped the notice of the gangs of thieves who have made such havoc of most of the cemeteries in this neighbourhood. The tombs are cut in the hard earth at the back of some houses which form the northernmost hamlet of Koshtâmneh. A small open shaft, quite shallow and narrow, leads down to a tunnel-like chamber, the mouth of which is closed by a rough slab of stone. The writer opened one of these tombs, and found in it a pottery coffin containing a mummy, the head of which was covered by a painted and gilded cartonnage. The cemetery was placed in the care of the omdeh of the village, and the police were informed of its existence. The archaeologist who digs here will find a certain number of antiquities, no doubt, and a large number of rather uninteresting mummies.

The Fortress.

About five kilometres further to the south stands the fortress of Koshtâmneh, and to the north of this building there are some interesting cemeteries of 'Pan-graves' which were excavated by Mr. John Garstang in 1906. These cemeteries are discussed in the section on that subject. The actual village of Koshtâmneh stands for the most part on the east bank of the river, and near the fortress there are no houses. The desert here is low and undulating, and is more open than it has previously been south of the Cataract. The fortress is about 14 kilometres above Gerf Ḥusên temple, and 99 above the Cataract. When the barrage is raised the lower half of the fortress will be washed away. The history of the science of fortification, however, is of such interest that the site should be excavated and planned as early as possible. Mr. Garstang has laid bare some of the internal walls, which show some curious features. In all probability the building dates from the Twelfth Dynasty, and one may perhaps attribute it to the reign of Sesostris II, as will have been seen in the section on the History of Lower Nubia. A peculiar architectural feature of the fortress is its serpentine walls, and similar walls have been found in the 'false' tomb of Sesostris III at Abydos, and in the temple of Nebharpetrâ at Deir el Baḥri. Koshtâmneh is the first of the three great fortresses below Wâdy Hâlfa, the other two being at Ḳubbân and at Anâybeh.

The crude brick walls of the building are much damaged, those on the north, east, and west sides having alone withstood the siege of the years. Within the main enclosure wall there is a second wall, along the length of which round towers are constructed at intervals.[1] This seems to have enclosed the main tower or citadel, but the fortress requires to be excavated before a description of its design can be made. On the west side, outside the main walls, there is a fender-wall

[1] This wall is probably of later date.

built in the curious serpentine style mentioned above. The bricks throughout the building are of the large size commonly found in the Twelfth Dynasty.

Between Koshtâmneh and Dakkeh there are traces of 'Pan-grave' cemeteries, and this whole stretch of desert will have to be most carefully searched before the barrage is raised.

From Gerf Ḥusên to Ḳubbân: East Bank.

Along this stretch of country there does not seem to be any ancient site of importance; and beyond a few small cemeteries of the late period, and a few drawings of the usual kind on the rocks, there is nothing of interest to be seen.

The village of Kirsh, opposite Gerf Ḥusên, shows traces of the ruins of the ancient town; but a mediaeval or late Roman cemetery with the graves exposed by the *sebakhîn*, is the only noteworthy site. The pottery used in Lower Nubia is largely made here.

About half-way between Gerf Ḥusên and Ḳubbân there are the ruins of a small Byzantine fortress on the hill-side, but the place is too ruined to be worth a visit.

Dakkeh.

Situation.

The temple of Dakkeh is situated on the west bank of the river, 20 kilometres from Gerf Ḥusên and 105 from the First Cataract. The country here is open and sandy, and the hills rise in isolated groups some considerable distance back from the river. In early times it seems that the larger part of the wide area between the hills and the water was under cultivation, but now the sand lies over the whole surface, except in a few small patches where the natives have been sufficiently enterprising as to attempt the reclamation of the ground. When the barrage is raised the water will flood the whole area, and the land will soon be able to produce a summer crop. Unhappily the temple, which stands in the village of Dakkeh, a few yards from the river, will be entirely flooded, as its level is R. L. 112; and as its foundations are of sand and mud-brick, it will be in grave danger of falling to the ground. This, however, will be discussed later.

History.

Dakkeh marks the site of the ancient *Pa-Selk* 'The Abode of the Scorpion', which name in Greek was written *Pselkis*, and by Strabo is called Pselchê. There are indications of early cemeteries in the neighbourhood, and one may suppose that the town already existed in archaic times. In the desert behind Dakkeh there are extensive graves of the 'Pan' races, and near the temple a stone bearing the name of Âmenemhât[1] of the Twelfth Dynasty was found. The names of Thoutmosis II and III[2] and Sethos I[3] have also been observed on stones unearthed here, and one may therefore regard the history of the town as being continuous throughout dynastic times. The temple as it now stands was built by the Lower Nubian King 'The King of Upper and Lower Egypt Amendet 'Anchtâarâ, Son of the Sun Âргamen Living for ever, beloved of Isis', commonly called Ergamenes, a contem-

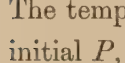
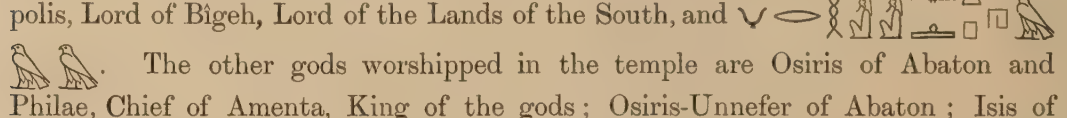
[1] Villiers Stuart, *Nile Gleanings*.

[2] Murray and Baedeker.

[3] Found by Eisenlohr and now at Heidelberg.

porary of Ptolemy II, III and IV, a king who has already been discussed with reference to his work at Philae. Ptolemy IV Philopator himself added some of the reliefs, and he records the cartouches of Ptolemy III, his father, Berenice, his mother, Arsinoë III, his sister and wife, and Arsinoë IV, his daughter. The vestibule was added by Ptolemy IX Euergetes II. There are a number of Greek inscriptions in different parts of the temple, one of which mentions that in the thirty-fifth year of Ptolemy IX the pronaos was built and dedicated to Hermes Paotnuphis. The sanctuary was built by an unidentified Roman Pharaoh. Murray states that the name of Tiberius occurs in this chamber, but this was not found by the present writer. An inscription here records the fact that Saturninus Veteranus Aquila executed the gilding of parts of the temple. Dakkeh was the scene of the great battle between the Romans and Ethiopians in the year 24 B. C. Strabo mentions an island near here to which the Ethiopians fled. This may have been the island of Derâr, which lies a few kilometres to the south of Dakkeh.

In Christian times the temple was used as a church by the inhabitants of Dakkeh.

Religion. One would imagine from the name of the town, 'The Abode of the Scorpion,' that the scorpion-goddess Selket was here worshipped, and her appearance amongst the reliefs in the temple of Bêt el Wâli, which is not so very far away, might favour this view. But the goddess is not found on any of the reliefs which are standing at Dakkeh, and it is to be presumed that the name has some other origin. The temple was dedicated to Thoth of  *Penubs*, also written without the initial *P*, which stood for *Per* 'The abode of.' The word *Nubs*, it should be added, means the 'sycamore tree.' This city is perhaps to be identified with Ḳûrteh and Ofendîneh, though Ptolemy mentions one Panubs in Upper Nubia. Thoth is called Lord of Penubs in Takens (Lower Nubia), Lord of Dakkeh, Twice Great of Hermopolis, Lord of Bîgeh, Lord of the Lands of the South, and  . The other gods worshipped in the temple are Osiris of Abaton and Philae, Chief of Amenta, King of the gods; Osiris-Unnefer of Abaton; Isis of Philae, Abaton, and Bîgeh, Lady of the Lands of the South; Horus, Horus of Beḥeni, Horus of Behudet, Harendotes Lord of Philae, Harmachis Lord of the Hawks, Harpocrates, Åmen Rå of Abaton and Philae, Khnum of Bîgeh, Shu of Bîgeh and Abaton, Min of Abaton, Arsnuphis of Abaton and Philae, Tefnut daughter of Rå in Abaton, Lady of Bîgeh and Philae, Hathor of Bîgeh and Philae, Anukis of Bîgeh and Takens, Satis of Bîgeh, Nephthys Nurse of the Gods, Nekheb, Mut of Karnak, Wepwat, and finally the Pharaoh of Senem (*Per-aå n Senem*).

The Temple. The main feature of the temple is its pylon, which is practically undamaged. In front of the pylon there is an avenue of approach, fifty-five metres in length, and nearly five in breath, bordered on either side by a wall of masonry, and ending, to the north, in a rectangular platform or terrace. Both the avenue and the terrace are so much damaged that they are only just discernible. It is said that many blocks used in this terrace bear the cartouche of Thoutmosis III. The walls and cornice of the pylon still retain their original smoothness of surface, and although the natives have exposed two metres of the foundation on every side,

there is no sign of a natural collapse in the near future. The height of the pylon is twelve metres, or nearly fifteen when the foundations are included. The gateway in the pylon is surmounted by a concave cornice on which is the usual winged disk. The threshold is made of two heavy grey granite blocks. Inside the doorway there have been some unfinished reliefs on both sides, but those on the east side are alone remaining, and represent an unnamed Pharaoh offering to Thoth, Tefnut, and Isis. In the north side of the pylon there are two niches which have been intended for the usual flagstaffs. In the south side there are two doorways leading to flights of stairs which ascend to the guard-rooms and to the top of the pylon. The ascent is well worth undertaking, as the view from the top is a fine one. Upon the pylon there are a few isolated and unfinished reliefs and numerous Greek inscriptions.

Between the pylon and the main temple there is an open space of some ten metres, in which originally there was some construction. The main building consisted of a series of four chambers lying in the axis and leading from one to the other. First there was the pronaos, then the vestibule, next the adytum, and finally the sanctuary. The pronaos, vestibule, and part of the adytum were overthrown quite recently, owing to the digging away of the foundations by the natives, and now the remains of these buildings lie in confusion on the ground. Only the north-west corner of the pronaos and the doorway into the vestibule remain standing at the present time. On the former one sees Ptolemy Euergetes II making offerings to Horus, Isis, Osiris, and Osiris-Unnefer. On the fallen blocks one may find reliefs showing the gods Thoth of Penubs, Tefnut, Thoth of Hermopolis and Bîgeh, Isis, Khnum, Horus, &c. Some Christian paintings have been superimposed on the original decorations, but these can only be seen now in scattered fragments. They are said to have represented God the Father enthroned, the Crucifixion, and some other scenes. On the doorway into the vestibule there are some small-sized reliefs. On the north side the king is seen offering to Åmen Rå, Harendotes, Isis, Harmachis, Khnum, Hathor, and Thoth. Inside the doorway, on the east, there is a damaged relief showing the king offering a figure of Truth to Thoth of Penubs and Lower Nubia, and to Tefnut. On the south side of the doorway King Ptolemy Philopator I worships Anukis, Satis, Isis, and Hathor; while on the lintel there are the cartouches of his family. The first three names are those of the king himself; the next is that of his wife, the 'Royal Wife, Sister, and Daughter Arsinoë', then the 'Royal Father of Ptolemy', the 'Royal Mother Berenice', and finally the 'Daughter of Åmen Arsinoë.'

The vestibule is quite destroyed, and the doorway which has just been described rises amidst a miserable heap of fallen masonry. One now enters the exposed adytum, the front walls of which have fallen. A portion of the roof still remains in position, and this has preserved the reliefs to a certain extent from damage. From this chamber a doorway, probably hidden by blocks of stone, leads off to the north into a chamber below a stairway ascending to the roof. The reliefs in the adytum show the Nubian king Ergamenes before various gods, amongst which the Pharaoh of Senem, wearing the war-helmet, may be noticed. On the east side of the doorway into the sanctuary there is a scene showing King Ergamenes offering to Isis, and an inscription, in four and a half perpendicular lines,

states that Isis has given to him the Land of *Takens*, or Lower Nubia, from Aswân to Takômpso, namely, the *Twelve Àr*. The territory of the Twelve Àr in Greek was called the Dodekaschoinos, a Greek schoinos being equal to the Egytian Àr, and corresponding to $7\frac{1}{2}$ English miles. On either jamb of the doorway Ergamenes is shown making a prayer to Thoth of [P]nubs and Selket and to Isis of Philae and Abaton.

Passing now into the sanctuary, one sees that the reliefs have been added in Roman times by an Emperor who is simply named 'Pharaoh'. A block of pink granite lying on the floor forms the top of a shrine, the other portions of which lie broken outside the temple, not far away. As a dado around this chamber there are a series of figures of Hapi, the Nile, alternating with garlands of lotus-flowers. The figures carry vases of water, and lead cattle, geese, &c., these being symbolic of plenty. On the east side of the doorway the design is extended by the addition of a cedar tree, under which an ape, symbolizing Thoth, stands; while the figure of Hapi pours a vase of water amongst the leaves. The main scenes on the walls, commencing from the east side of the doorway and going round the room, are as follows: The king before Isis and Harseisis; the king kneeling before Thoth and Tefnut; offering a sphinx to Arsnuphis and Tefnut; offering to Arsnuphis alone; to Thoth (damaged); to Osiris-Unnefer and Isis; to Isis; to Hathor and Harpocrates; to Isis and Horus of Behudet; and finally offering to Thoth and Tefnut. Above these main reliefs are others in which many of the gods mentioned above are found. Miss Edwards, in her *Thousand Miles*, speaks of the 'dumpy, smirking goddesses, and . . . . clownish kings which are seen in these reliefs; but compared with other work of the Ptolemaic period the figures here are by no means inferior.

Returning now to the vestibule, a small chamber will be found built on to the east side of the adytum, and now exposed by the falling of the front wall. Here there has been a crypt, which is now choked. The reliefs on the south wall show two ibises seated on shrines, a lion before which an ape raises its arms in worship; two hawks guarding the cartouches of the Pharaoh, and two seated lions. On the east wall the king is seen worshipping Arsnuphis and Tefnut, and Osiris and Isis; and on the west wall he worships Horus and Hathor, and Thoth and Tefnut. On the west of the adytum there is a stairway ascending to the roof, but it is in a dangerous condition.

Originally there was an enclosure wall running around the temple, but this is now destroyed. There is much evidence that a temple of Thoutmosis III existed on this site, and Gau believed that it was to the right of the present edifice. It will be seen from this how extensive must be the excavations undertaken here if the site is to be flooded. Every inch of ground over the whole area ought to be turned over, and the earlier remains brought to light.

The Cemeteries, &c.

The cemeteries of Dakkeh lie in the desert, about $1\frac{1}{2}$ kilometres back from the temple. On a low sandy mound there is an extensive 'Pan-grave' cemetery, entirely plundered during the last three or four years, the surface of the sand being covered with fragments of the pottery of that race. Another mound near by contains tombs of this period and also of the Graeco-Roman age; but this also is quite robbed out. On the hills above Dakkeh there are some small tumuli,

some of which contained contracted bodies, and were able to be dated to about the Twenty-sixth Dynasty by the objects found with them.

The remains of the ancient town lie around the temple, a large quantity of potsherds being all that is left of the once important Pselchis. The main portion of the town seems to have been half a kilometre to the north of the temple; and here, by the way, there is a brick construction which ought to be examined before the water covers it. In Murray's Handbook it is stated that there was a Roman custom-house near the temple, and that many ostraka have been found on its site.

Preservation

Before the barrage is raised considerable works will have to be undertaken to secure the temple. The pylons stand upon a foundation consisting of six layers of stone blocks, making a total height of about three metres. This rests upon earth and sand. In order to hold the pylons together it will be necessary to thoroughly underpin the foundations, and then perhaps to cut a trench, in small sections at a time, around the foundations to a depth of a metre or more below them, and having a breadth of some three or four metres, and to fill this with cement and stone, the upper surface being banked up to the floor-level of the pylons. The rest of the standing temple, namely the doorway before the adytum and the adytum and sanctuary, have foundations of four blocks in depth; and here again the same underpinning and casing of cement would have to be laid down. The interior of the sanctuary requires to have a flooring of cement, as the pavement has been smashed up and parts of the foundations underneath removed. With regard to the fallen pronaos, little hope can be entertained of rebuilding it. There are over 200 fallen blocks, some of great size, and the sorting out of these and the raising of them would be an undertaking of very considerable difficulty. The platform upon which this part of the building stood is only two blocks in depth, and the removal and crumbling away of the earth under this has led to the recent downfall of the walls. If it were to be rebuilt an entirely new foundation would have to be laid down, and the whole undertaking would be so lengthy that it could only be considered if the barrage is not raised. If, however, the site is to be flooded, it will probably not be possible to do more than to turn each block over in order that the reliefs and inscriptions upon it can be copied or photographed, and then to leave the ruin to its fate. The rest of the temple can be preserved, as has been said above; and every effort should be made to prevent this interesting monument from being lost. The most thorough excavation of the cemeteries in the neighbourhood, all of which will be flooded, must be made.

Ḳubbân.

Situation.

The town, fortress, and temple of Ḳubbân stand on the east bank of the river a short distance south of Dakkeh, and 107½ kilometres above the barrage. No one in this part of the country should fail to pay a visit to the ruined fortress, which is one of the most impressive sights in Nubia. It has been said that this ruin brings the lost ages before the imagination in a way that no temple could ever bring them, and this is indeed so. The gaunt, ruined walls, still towering to a considerable height, the crumbling scarp and counterscarp, the moat, and the covered way, all suggest to one's mind thoughts of the activities of ancient Egypt.

The temples have told so often and so persistently of the solemnities of the past, that it is with reawakened interest that one turns to this memorial of human energy.

History. In ancient times Ḳubbân was named *Baka* or *Baki*, and it will be remembered that Horus of Baki is one of the great gods worshipped throughout Lower Nubia. A stele of Åmenemḥåt III of the Twelfth Dynasty was found here, which shows that the place was already in existence at that date. The fortress was probably built at the same time as were those of Koshtâmneh, Kummeh, and Semneh—that is to say, about the time of Sesostris III. There seems little doubt that the defences here were intended as a safeguard to the caravans which set out from this point for the gold-mines of Wâdy ʿAlâḳi. From these mines it is probable that the Egyptians obtained their gold in the early stages of their history, just as they certainly did in the New Empire and in Roman times. The Nile above Ḳubbân was not always in the hands of the Pharaohs, and there were several periods in which the 'vile Ethiopians' extended their influence northwards as far as this point. The busy terminus of the caravans, therefore, with its granaries and store-houses, its market and its ready gold, must have been the objective of many a raid. A stele of the time of Thoutmosis III was found here, and the names of Ḥoremḥeb and Rameses II also have been observed, thus showing that the gold-mining operations were steadily carried on from dynasty to dynasty. A most important inscription, dated in the third year of Rameses II, was found in the desert near Ḳubbân. It states that the king, after holding a council regarding the working of these mines, decided to attempt to obtain water by increasing the depth of a well dug by Seti I, which had been given up as useless after a depth of 120 cubits had been reached. Engineers were dispatched to the spot, and, by boring in the old well for only twelve more cubits, water was reached, and the mines were able to be reopened. In this inscription the king speaks of Horus of Baki, the god of the district, and we are told that Wâdy ʿAlâḳi was then called the county of Åkaåta.

The Fortress. The fortress as it now appears is in a very ruinous condition, and the enclosure is so heaped with fallen bricks and broken pottery that it is no easy matter to make out any of the details of the original buildings inside the main walls. The north wall stands nearly complete; of the south wall the east end is standing; only the middle of the east wall remains; and the west wall is entirely gone. These walls, which are constructed of large-sized bricks, are six metres thick at their base, and rise in places to eight metres in height. Outside the walls there is a moat, cut in the rock, surrounding the fortress, and having a scarp on the one side and a counterscarp on the other. The area thus enclosed is about 120 by 80 metres. As in most Egyptian fortresses there are gateways in the walls which lie at right angles to the Nile, i.e. on the north and south sides. The gateways are flanked by towers which project inwards, and leave a narrow outlet, about three metres wide and ten metres long. At intervals around the walls there are other towers, rectangular in form and built on to the inner face of the wall. From the south-west corner a covered way ran down to the river, lined and roofed with stone, and covered with a thick skin of brickwork. Within the enclosure there seems to have been a second wall surrounding the mounds which form the

ruins of the main tower or citadel, and leaving a clear space between it and the first line of defences.

No more can now be said of the plan of the fortress, but much would be revealed by excavation. When the barrage is raised the water will flood the lower half of the area, and such of the eastern walls as remain will be reduced to a mud pie. There is probably a great deal to be found here, for a busy caravanserai must have left traces of its importance behind it. The immense amount of broken pottery which is to be found within the fortress, dating from the Middle and New Empires and from the Graeco-Roman periods, is perhaps an indication that much remains hidden. These pottery fragments include several of the 'Pan' types, and one may perhaps suppose that Lower Nubian troops were employed in the fortress, and as escorts to the caravans.

The Temple.

Less than a kilometre to the south of the fortress there are the remains of a small temple, which was perhaps dedicated to Horus of Baki, and which appears to have been erected in the Middle or early New Empire. Very little of it is now to be seen, and the ordinary visitor will not find it worth looking at. Originally it consisted of a small hall, $9\frac{1}{2}$ by 11 metres in size, and having six columns with 'clustered' capitals; a sanctuary, 11 metres square; and a courtyard excavated in the rock enclosing the whole building. The temple stands high enough to be out of danger of the water.

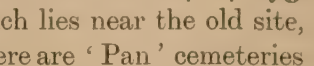
Cemeteries, &c.

A short distance to the south-east of the fortress there is a cemetery of the Middle Empire, consisting of shaft-tombs sunk in the rock, and of rock chambers in front of which are brick constructions. Several of these tombs were robbed by the natives some years ago; and in 1906 Mr. Garstang excavated a few of them, without finding much of interest. There should be a 'Pan' cemetery here, but no traces of it were observed by the writer. Of the other antiquities of Ḳubbân mention may be made of a large cistern hewn in the rock near the temple, and six metres in diameter; and of the remains of another demolished temple, at the north of the village. Part of a large stele (Plate XLIV, No. 2) was seen by the writer outside the south-east corner of the fortress, and was buried by him under the sand about two metres from that corner. A temple in the south-east angle of the fortress is also mentioned in Baedeker.

The Village.

The village of Ḳubbân is, or certainly was in 1905 and 1906, one of the cleanest villages in Nubia. The walls of the houses are smoothly plastered, and in many cases whitewashed; the courtyards are sprinkled with fresh sand; the refuse is carefully removed to a distance; and the little streets are as clean as one could wish. Over the doorways of many of the houses there are curious designs painted in whitewash. These have been discussed in the Introduction, and may perhaps be a deterioration of the bulls' skulls with which the ancient inhabitants used to decorate their doorways. A picturesque little mosque stands amidst the houses, and this, like all else here, is wonderfully clean. Looking northwards from the village the dark walls of the fortress tower above the modern dwellings, and at the edge of the river clusters of palms add colour to a scene which one leaves behind with regret.

Ḳûrteh.

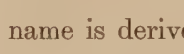
History. On the west bank of the river, about 3 kilometres south of Ḳubbân there lie the remains of an ancient city, known to the ancient Egyptians as  *Karte*, and to the Copts as *Korte*. The modern village, which lies near the old site, is called Ḳûrteh, and thus carries on the ancient name. There are 'Pan' cemeteries of the Middle Empire near the town, which indicate that like Dakkeh, the place was in existence at an early date. Modern travellers of fifty years ago state that there was here a gateway standing, inscribed with the name of Thoutmosis III; and the name of that king was more recently observed on a block of stone near the remains of the temple of Ptolemaic or Roman date. One may thus say that the history of the town was continuous. Ḳûrteh is not more than five kilometres south of Dakkeh, and at different points along the intervening country there are indications of Roman settlements. It is therefore likely that Pselkis and Karte, although originally separate townships, were in late times amalgamated into one city. Strabo speaks of the Island of Takômpso as being opposite Pselchis, and for this reason Ḳubbân has been identified with Takômpso, although that site lies on the main land. Now opposite Ḳûrteh there is the large island of Derâr, and here with far more probability Takômpso may be placed. The Ethiopians, defeated by Petronius at Dakkeh, fled to Takômpso; but it is not likely that they would have done so had the island been less than five kilometres from the scene of the battle.

The Remains. The remains of the ancient site consist of the temple, the town ruins, and the cemeteries. The temple lies to the north of the modern village, but little of it now exists. A rectangular space outlined by masonry walls only one block in height is all that is to be seen; and there are no traces of inscriptions to name the deity worshipped here, or the date of the temple's foundation. The mounds of the town site are somewhat further westward, and are of very considerable extent. The cemeteries are still further to the west, and are all hopelessly plundered. In the rocks there are several shallow trenches which have served as tombs, and bones lie around them. One may find near here the scattered remains of 'Pan' graves, and graves of the late period; but the robbers have left little for the archaeologist to excavate. Near here there are the remains of the quarries from which the stone for the temple was procured. The temple, however, requires to be cleared before it goes under water, as there may be the remains of the buildings of Thoutmosis III below the ruins of the Roman temple.

Like Ḳubbân the village of Ḳûrteh is a model of cleanliness and neatness. It stands on the edge of the river behind thick groves of palm-trees, and to the westward the sandy desert stretches back in a gradual rise until the low hills are reached. Much of the land at the back of the village seems to have been cultivated at one time, and to have been converted into a part of the desert by the inroads of the sand.

Derâr.

The island of Derâr lies opposite the south end of the village of Ḳûrteh. In summer, when the water is low, it appears to be a place of some size, but in winter its main feature is its abundance of palms and other trees. The channel of the

river runs on its eastern side, and in summer the water is so shallow between the island and the western bank that the natives dispense with a ferry, wading across with their clothes upon their heads. It has been pointed out that this island is probably to be identified with the ancient Takômpso, or Metakhompso, as it it is sometimes called. This name is derived from the hieroglyphic  In the temple of Dakkeh it will be remembered that Ergamenes states that he ruled the land from Aswân to Takômpso, and it seems that this island was, at various periods, the limit of the Egyptian or Lower Nubian dominions.

Maḥâraḳa.

Situation.

The ruins which are usually known as those of Maḥâraḳa are often called after the village of Ofendîneh, which lies just to the north of the temple, whereas the village of Maḥâraḳa is on the opposite bank of the river, some distance away. The ruins stand on the west bank, 5 kilometres above Ḳûrteh, $10\frac{1}{2}$ above Dakkeh, and 116 south of the barrage. The western bank here is low and sandy, and the ruins of the temple rise abruptly from a slightly elevated plateau, and stand out sharply against the sky. The temple is in a pitiable state of collapse, and when the barrage is raised such walls as are now standing will fall before the first inroads of the water, unless measures are taken to strengthen them. A few trees stand between the temple and the water; but the country is bare and desolate at this point, though the hamlet of Ofendîneh is well provided with palms.

History.

The temple was built in late Roman times, though the exact date is not known. The town was then named Hierasykaminos, and was the limit of the Dodekaschoinos, the 'Land of the Twelve Schoinoi', i. e. the territory which lay northwards as far as the First Cataract. In Ptolemaic times, as has been said above, the frontier was placed at Takômpso, but the Romans seem to have pushed it forward to this point. At Dakkeh it has been seen that the chief god of the temple was Thoth of Penubs. The word *Penubs* means the 'Place of the Sycamore'[1]; and, in the dado of the sanctuary at Dakkeh an ape, symbolizing Thoth, was seen standing under the sacred sycamore. Now Hierasykaminos also means 'the Place of the Sycamore', and on one of the walls of its temple Isis is seen seated under a sycamore, while Thoth stands near by. One may, therefore, identify this site with the Penubs of the hieroglyphs.

The Temple.

The temple consists of a small hall, around the sides of which were pillars joined by screen-walls. There were six pillars on the north and south sides and three on the east and west, but only five of these remain standing. Presumably the main entrance was on the east side. The hall seems to have been enclosed by a girdle wall, but this has fallen on all sides, except on the north, where it is, however, tottering as though in immediate danger of collapse. At the north-east angle of the hall there has been a spiral staircase, parts of which can still be seen. This is a unique feature in an Egyptian temple, and for this reason one very much regrets the approach of the water, which will make it impracticable for the building to be restored. Another feature which makes this temple quite peculiar must now be described. Between the main temple and the water there is another con-

[1] More probably the tree is a Zizyphus.

struction, the plan of which is not easy to determine. It stands somewhat to the south of the axis of the hall, and its north wall seems to have formed the side of an entrance passage leading to the main temple. On the north face of this wall there is a most remarkable relief, executed partly in the Roman and partly in the Egyptian style. It represents a full-faced figure of Isis, seated under the sacred sycamore tree, and clad in Roman costume. Above her a hawk hovers, while another rests in the branches of the tree. She stretches out her arm to an approaching figure of a boy clad in a toga and representing Horus, who brings a vessel of wine to her. Above him are three small figures representing Min, Isis, and Serapis, these again being portrayed in Roman style. To the left of this scene Thoth is shown in the Egyptian conventional style, and to the right is Isis, also portrayed in the Egyptian manner. There are no readable inscriptions. This mixture of pure Roman and pure Egyptian art is most remarkable; and the wall, which is leaning dangerously, should certainly be removed to a place of safety. There is little else of interest in the temple, and indeed its ruined condition makes any description difficult. Miss Edwards notes a Greek inscription which was observed on one of the fallen stones, and which reads 'The vow of Verecundus the soldier, and his most pious parents, and Gaius his little brother, and the rest of his brethren.' Another Greek inscription on one of the columns says that the temple was dedicated to Isis and Serapis. There are some Coptic inscriptions to be seen on the walls of the hall, and from these one may find that the Coptic name of the town was Mauraqê, which is almost similar to the modern Maḥâraḳa.

Preservation.

With regard to the question of the preservation of the temple before the raising of the barrage, it is somewhat difficult to give an opinion. The level R. L. 114 comes about a metre above the floor of the colonnade; and to render the building strong enough to stand against this flooding the expenditure would perhaps be greater than the historical or artistic value of the place justifies. A cement and girder flooring would have to be laid down in and around the colonnade which forms the nucleus of the temple. This would cover about 70 square metres, and below it the ground would have to be prepared with a good foundation of broken stones, of which there are plenty lying about. The enclosing walls of the temple, which have on each side fallen outwards and now lie banked up around the colonnade, would themselves form a good breakwater, and, with a little patching, would prevent the colonnade from shifting outwards. Only one corner of this enclosing wall, as has been said, still stands; but this leans heavily, and it would be a very difficult and expensive matter to rebuild it block by block. It will be seen, then, that whatever work is undertaken here must be solely with the object of preserving the colonnade, two-thirds of which has already fallen, and would have to be rebuilt. With proper tackle the raising of these columns would not be difficult. About sixty blocks (drums, capitals, &c.), would have to be raised, but they are all quite small and light. One would then have an eighteen-columned colonnade of secondary historic and artistic value as the result of one's work, and this seems hardly worth the expense. One may, therefore, say that after a full publication of the temple has been made it should be left to the mercy of the river, unless there happens to be a surplus stock of cement, girders, &c., left over from the work at Dakkeh. The wall upon which the Egypto-Roman relief appears must

certainly be removed to the museum, whether the barrage is raised or not; and the dangerous angle at which it now stands, as will be seen in the photograph on Plate XLVI, makes it imperative that this work should be carried out quickly. The Coptic inscriptions in the temple are written in red paint, and must therefore be copied before the water approaches. Excavations must be made for the purpose of ascertaining whether an earlier temple lies under the existing building.

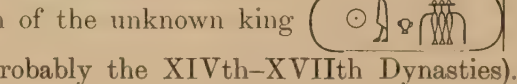
To the south of the temple, and about a kilometre westward, there is a cemetery of 'Pan-graves', and another lies immediately to the west, a Roman cemetery being mixed with it. These graves have been robbed during the last three or four years; but the sites require to be excavated. Much Roman broken pottery lies about in all directions; but the main mounds of the ancient town run southwards from the temple along the edge of the river. Here it will be necessary to cut trial trenches to ascertain the date of the lower strata of sherds.

From Maḥâraḳa to Es Sebû'a: West Bank.

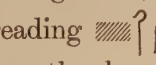
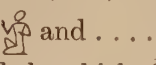
A short way south of the temple of Maḥâraḳa the hills close in towards the river, and on a flat-topped hill on the west bank, overlooking the water, stands the fortified Byzantine town of Meḥêndi. The enclosing walls of the town are built of uncemented blocks of sandstone, like those already noticed at Sabagûra, Kalâbsheh, and elsewhere. A rough pathway leads up the hill on the north and south, and on both these sides there is a gateway into the enclosure. Hewn blocks of sandstone from some Egyptian temple in the neighbourhood have been used in the building of these gateways, and the figure of Âmen Râ can still be seen on one of them. Within the enclosure, a chaos of ruined walls of brick and stone meets the eye, which, after careful examination, resolves itself into a labyrinth of houses and streets. On the high ground near the middle of the town stands the church, in which the recess for the altar at the east end can be distinguished. Many of the houses in the town have vaulted roofs which have not yet fallen in; and it is with something of a feeling of romance that one picks a way through the narrow streets, glancing to right and left into the darkness of the empty chambers which seem to have been deserted only yesterday. The view from the town is very fine. To the east is a wide desert bay, on the north of which are the picturesque hills of Gebel Maḥâraḳa; to the west the desert stretches back in rugged grandeur as far as the eye can see. Meḥêndi.

About five kilometres south of Meḥêndi, and about two north of the Post Office and village of Sayâleh, which can be seen on the opposite bank, there is a group of rocks a short way back from the water, upon which are numerous inscriptions and drawings. As will be seen on Plate L (Nos. 19–26), four of the inscriptions date from the XIth–XIIIth Dynasties. Nos. 20 and 23 give the early Twelfth Dynasty name Seḥotepâbrâ, and No. 22 gives the Menthuḥotep. No. 19, by the appearance of the surface of the cutting, is later than these, as is also No. 26. The boat (No. 8), in which the cattle are being ferried across the river, is very ancient; and, according to the discoloration of the stone, it must be early prehistoric. A much ruined Coptic building is to be observed nearly opposite Sayâleh Post Office, and on the walls there are some Coptic texts which should be copied. Below it there is an extensive cemetery of the same period. Some five kilometres further to the south Sayâleh.

there is a small cemetery of 'Pan-graves'. The graves have all been robbed, and are much covered by sand. Three kilometres further there is another cemetery of 'Pan-graves', from which some fragments of pottery were collected.

Medîk. The village of Medîk is now reached, and on some high rocks which come down to the water, two early Christian buildings stand. On ascending the hill at the north side one first finds a large area entirely covered with broken stones and fragments of pottery. On close observation it is seen that these stones are the ruins of a large number of little huts, not more than one or two metres square, and usually built over a crevice in the rocks, in order that the walls might not require to be raised very high. These hovels, where a man could never stand upright, and where the ground area was nothing more than a coffin-like cleft in the rock, seem to have served the monks for shelter from the summer sun and from the winter winds. When the writer visited the place in the autumn the rocks were still too hot to be touched by the hand, and in the height of summer the bare plateau must be literally scorched. In many of these clefts in the rock, under the fallen walls, lie the bones of the monks; and it thus seems either that it was the custom in this brotherhood for the dead to be buried where they had lived, or else that the monks were massacred at some time in their huts. A few metres to the south rises the little church, built of broken stones, topped with mud-bricks. Over the body of the building rises a dome now in ruins, and the rest of the roofing was supported on brick arches. At the east end is a recess for the altar, with a niche in the south wall for holding the sacred utensils. On either side of this recess there is a small chamber, and a passage runs behind the altar from one to the other. In the wall of the north chamber there is a niche, and in the corner a projecting slab of stone forms a rough shelf. A few metres further to the south there is another small ruined building, which seems to have been divided into a few small chambers; and, as the quarters of the monks have been already observed, this building is perhaps to be regarded as a guest-house. From this point the road leading to Tomâs, cutting off the bend of the river, runs back into the desert; and there must have been many travellers who passed the monastery, and would be glad to claim its shelter. A place of such interest as this monastic settlement calls for some adequate publication. The buildings should be planned and photographed; the floor of the church should be cleared of dêbris in order that any inscribed stones or documents might be searched for; the fragments of broken pottery should be drawn in restored form; and the bones of the monks should be submitted to a careful examination in order to decide their racial type. A traveller with time and money to spare might profitably undertake this work and the further task of patching up the buildings as far as possible. This point being the terminus of the shortest road to the south, it is not surprising that a number of Egyptian graffiti are found on the rocks. On Plate L many of these inscriptions are shown, and the majority of them will be seen to date from the Middle Kingdom. The names Menthuḥotep, Ânteʿ, Senwesert, Khnumḥotep, plainly indicate this date; and the large inscription of the unknown king  may be attributed to the same period (probably the XIVth–XVIIth Dynasties). The discoloration of the hieroglyphs is the same as that in No. 12; and is lighter, and therefore later,

than that of Menthuḥotep son of Ântef (No. 10), and that of Khnumḥotep (No. 4). No. 9 gives the 'Year Ten' of some unnamed king. It is surprising that the various travellers in Lower Nubia failed to observe the large royal inscription, for it can be plainly seen from the river.[1]

Four or five kilometres to the south of this the rocks are covered with drawings of giraffes, elephants, boats, &c., some of great age; and there are two graffiti, reading  and . . . .  . A kilometre to the south, near the hamlet of Agâybeh, which forms part of Medîk, there are some boulders upon which are two or three Ethiopic inscriptions. The largest of these consists of twelve lines of closely written characters cut upon a smoothed rectangular surface, a metre in length by 60 centimetres in breadth. Another smaller stele of the same kind is now obliterated. Near this there is a rock tomb of late style, and traces of a quarry. Two kilometres further to the south there is a plundered Ptolemaic or Roman cemetery, and three or four kilometres further on there is another of the same kind. The tombs are cut in the earth and consist of a shallow shaft from which a rough chamber leads. These tombs have been plundered and many lie open. Other plundered cemeteries lie at intervals along this bank of the river; and, as they are at about R. L. 112 to 113, they must be well examined before the water is raised.

From Maḥâraḳa to Es Sebû'a : East Bank.

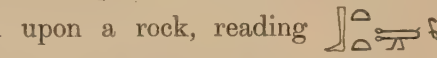
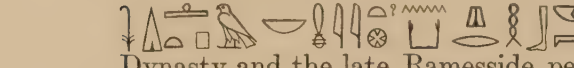
The country on the east bank between Maḥâraḳa and Es Sebû'a contains no ancient sites of any interest to the archaeologist or to the traveller. A few cemeteries of Roman and Coptic date are met with at intervals; but these are plundered, and few, if any, antiquities of value will be found here. Before, however, the barrage is raised and the bank of the river flooded, it will be necessary to go very much more carefully over the country than the writer was able to do. A single walk over the ground is not sufficient for the exhausting of its historical interests, and all likely spots will require to be tapped before one can conscientiously commit them to the waters. Whatever is not now found will be lost for ever, and it is quite impossible to say how much exists here. Supposing that nothing of importance is discovered, it should take an archaeologist about a fortnight to make the necessary trial excavations between Ḳubbân and Es Sebû'a. At the village of Medîk, near the hamlet of Mighâyrab, there is a small Byzantine or Coptic building, and near it a cemetery of that date. Here, also, an amateur might spend some time in planning and photographing the ruins, and making a publication of these much neglected buildings. At various points along the face of the rocks there are drawings of oxen, giraffes, boats, &c.; some of which are certainly archaic.

Es Sebû'a.

Situation and History.

The Nineteenth Dynasty town of Es Sebû'a, or Wâdy es Sebû'a ('the lions'), stands on the west bank of the river, 35 kilometres above Meḥêndi, 155 above the barrage, and 33 below Korôsko. Its pylons, though small, can be seen for some distance, for they stand in open ground a short way back from the river. The village

[1] Since writing this report Dr. Breasted has published a rough copy of the inscription.

of Es Sebû'a stands, for the main part, on the opposite bank of the river, near the mouth of a rocky valley, up which a caravan road runs to meet the main road to Abû Ḥamîd. The mounds which mark the site of the ancient town are to be seen at the river's edge in front of the temple, the surface pottery being mainly late. The cemeteries of that date lie to the north of the temple, and it should be mentioned that the tombs have all been plundered quite lately, and the bones and commoner pottery smashed up. The town of the Nineteenth Dynasty seems to have continued down to Roman times. A rock shrine of Amenophis III, which will be described presently, stands near the temple; and two hundred metres to the north there are two graffiti, inscribed upon a rock, reading  and  , which show that the early Eighteenth Dynasty and the late Ramesside period saw Egyptian officials and priests visiting the town. Several fragments of 'Pan-grave' pottery of the Middle Kingdom, or early Eighteenth Dynasty, were picked up near the temple. The temple was built by Rameses II, and was called 'The Temple of Åmen'. It was dedicated to Åmen Rå, and in the second place to Harmachis and Ptaḥ. The shrine of Amenophis II was dedicated to Åmen Rå. The ancient name of the town is lost; but perhaps a full study of the inscriptions in the temple would reveal it. Unfortunately almost the whole temple, except the pylons, is covered by the sand which has partly blown in and partly has been placed there purposely to protect the place owing to the behaviour of some travellers many years ago.

Preservation.

Persons who visited the temple while it was still accessible, however, have stated that the preservation of the interior is good. The whole temple is badly built, and the joints between the stones are wide and gaping. Originally they were filled with cement to make the surface appear smooth, but this has now dropped out and can only be seen deeper in the wall. The work of clearing the temple and dromos of sand need not be hurried, as the temple stands well above the level to which the water will be raised; but, on the other hand, the avenue of sphinxes leading to the entrance, and the standing colossi, will render the place so attractive that one would like to see the clearing made as early as possible. The sand can be moved to the south, where there is a hollow to receive it; an iron door must be placed at the temple entrance; and a gaffir must be appointed to look after the place.

Description of the Temple.

A description of the temple must be very inadequate at present, as so little of it can be seen. In front of the pylon there runs a dromos of sphinxes, only three or four of which can be seen above the sand. At the east end of the dromos stand two statues of the king, in a fair state of preservation. Down the plinth are his cartouches and titles, and he is said to be beloved of Åmen Rå, Ptaḥ, and Harmachis. On either side of the gateway in the pylon is a fallen colossus of Rameses, which should be raised again when the restoration of the temple is undertaken. On the east face of the pylons the king is seen slaying his enemies before Harmachis on the one side, and before Åmen Rå on the other. Around the doorway the king is seen in the presence of various gods, who cannot now be recognized. Inside the doorway are the king's cartouches, beloved of Ptaḥ and Åmen Rå, and there have been figures of him standing before Åmen Rå and other

gods. Passing through the gateway one enters an open court, along either side of which are five square pillars having headless and much broken colossi against them. The space between these pillars and the wall was roofed, and thus a gallery was formed on either side of the court. Some of the roofing blocks still remain in position. On the north wall of the court the only relief which can now be seen shows the king before a god; and on the south wall he is seen before a deified form of himself, before Horus of Mâåm, and before another Horus. On the west face of the pylon, at the north side, there is a large relief showing the king before Harmachis and Sekhmet (?), and a smaller scene in which he is led by Nekheb and another deity into the presence of a third god. Below this there is a long procession of the daughters of Rameses. At the south side there is a large relief showing the king before Åmen Rå, and Mut; and a smaller relief showing him worshipping Åmen Rå, Mut, and Khonsu. Below is a procession of the king's daughters as before. On the west face of the doorway are panels showing the king before Åmen Rå, Osiris, and other gods; and over the doorway he is seen in the presence of Åmen Rå and 'Rameses in the Temple of Åmen'.

Nothing more can now be seen, but from the descriptions of early archaeologists one may gather the following notes. Around the walls of the court the procession of the king's daughters continues, and there is also a series of sons. Altogether 111 sons and 67 daughters are shown here, which is not by any means an impossible number to be produced by an oriental potentate with an unlimited harêm. Augustus the Strong is said to have had a thousand children. Behind the court are the great hall, adytum, sanctuary, and antechambers, all excavated in the rock. On the walls are reliefs showing the king in the presence of Åmen Rå, Harmachis, Ptaḥ, Hathor, Khnum Rå, &c. These inner chambers have been used as a church by the Copts, and some of their paintings still remain on the walls. In one case the combination of the ancient reliefs and Coptic paintings produces the curious spectacle of Rameses II offering flowers to St. Peter, who is shown with a large key in his hand. At the end of the sanctuary there are three much damaged statues, representing Åmen, Harmachis, and Rameses.

From this brief description it will be seen that the temple, with its fine approach and interesting reliefs, will become one of the sights of Nubia when it is cleared of sand; and therefore, as has been said above, it would be as well to undertake the work at once. The temple at present gives the impression of being neglected, and the bad effects of this must be felt by the Antiquities Department. The bench-mark of the river-level has been cut on the flank of one of the sphinxes, and a large Arabic numeral relating to some Government list was lately painted across the head of another sphinx. This casual damaging of the monuments follows naturally from the forsaken appearance of the temple, lying as it does like something dead, half buried in the sand. And if this destitution renders Government employés careless in their treatment of the place, it will also make—and indeed has made—the native absolutely fearless in his attacks on the unprotected cemeteries and other monuments in the vicinity.

From Es Sebû'a to 'Amâda: West Bank.

The country between Es Sebû'a and 'Amâda is, from the point of view of the archaeologist, the least interesting in Lower Nubia. Along this whole stretch of 55 kilometres the writer was unable to find more than one inscription, and that was unreadable. At various points there are drawings on the rocks representing giraffes, gazelles, oxen, &c.; but even these are less numerous than in other parts of the country. The river bank on this side is here sandy, and there is extremely little cultivation. Five or six kilometres south of Es Sebû'a the cliffs come down to the water's edge, and a few drawings are to be observed, including one representing an elephant. Near the village of Wâdy el Arâb there is a 'Pan-grave' cemetery, from which some fragments of pottery were obtained; but the place is entirely plundered. On some rocks opposite Shatûrmeh a drawing representing a gazelle attacked by four dogs is perhaps worthy of record. Opposite the village of Karanôko some fragments of 'Pan-grave' pottery were found. Scattered fragments of this pottery are to be observed here and there along this whole stretch, and a few plundered Roman graves are also to be noticed. There is, however, little chance that objects of value would now be found here. All obvious graves have been robbed, and those which are hidden under the sand are, doubtless, extremely poor. Perhaps an archaeologist who was able to give some time to a careful search here might find a few graves worth digging. The writer did not walk very far inland.

Korôsko. After coming into sight of Korôsko, and just south of the village of El Bâṭh, there is a large cemetery of 'Pan-graves', which has been ruthlessly dug out during the last four or five years. The graves are cut in a low mound of earth, and are mainly oval or circular in form. A few 'Pan-graves' were also found higher up on the hill at this point. A kilometre to the south there are a few more 'Pan-graves', and there may still be three or four intact burials here. Other plundered graves of this variety are to be found about four kilometres further south.

Arêkah. About six kilometres above Korôsko there is a group of houses partly in ruins, known as the hamlet of Shablûl, and forming part of the village of Arêkah. Behind these houses there is an extensive 'Pan-grave' cemetery, the graves of which are dug in the hard soil which lies beneath the blown sand of the desert surface. The natives have disturbed a large number of the graves in their search for manure, and some fragments of pottery lie about. By clearing away the sand over a small area the writer was able to lay bare half a dozen graves or so, and there must remain many more to be dug by the archaeologist who is content to discover *material* and not pretty objects. The results of the work here are described in the section on the 'Pan-graves'.

A kilometre to the north of this there is another cemetery, or perhaps the site of a village, where were many fragments of 'Pan' pottery. One or two Roman graves near this were found, but no pottery was discovered, and the bones were smashed. Some three kilometres further north there is a long narrow enclosure at the edge of the river, surrounded by large, flat, unhewn stones placed on end. This enclosure shows every sign of age, and as one or two fragments of 'Pan' pottery were picked up near it, one is perhaps justified in dating it to that period. It was

perhaps a stockade in which the cattle of these tribes were kept. It was the custom amongst the 'Pan' people to surmount their graves with large stones standing up on end, in exactly the same manner as in the case of this enclosure wall; and this may be observed in a cemetery a short distance to the north of the stockade, where, on a small mound, a number of fragments of 'Pan' pottery were picked up from the débris of the plundered graves. This cemetery is about half a kilometre south of a high, rocky hill, with some houses at its foot, while at the brink of the river a group of palms forms a conspicuous landmark. About three kilometres further to the north one obtains the first distant view of 'Amâda temple: a mere speck, four kilometres away, standing amidst the yellow sand. Excavations made with the object of exhausting the ground before the barrage is raised may here come to an end, as the water-level will not be altered above Korôsko.

'Amâda.

Inscribed Rock.

The name 'Amâda is not that of any village, but is applied to the temple only. In this description, however, it has been found convenient to apply the name to the whole region within sight of the temple. About four kilometres to the south of it, there lies near the river, and just to the north of a group of houses, a large boulder, some four metres in height and perhaps twelve or fourteen in circumference. This rock is covered with inscriptions dating from the Twelfth Dynasty and it seems to have escaped the observation of all travellers in Nubia. Copies of some of the inscriptions are given on Plate LIII, but there are many others of less importance which require to be recorded by the trained hand of the archaeologist. Those given here are of the greatest historical importance. They seem to have been written by members of the expeditions to Nubia, who landed here from the river perhaps to replenish their supplies of fresh food, or who descended at this point from the Medîk–Tomâs road which cuts off the great bend of the Nile. No. 1 is the cartouche of Sesostris III, but unfortunately the rest of the hieroglyphs are obliterated.[1] No. 2 gives the name of the 'Elder of the Southern (Councils of) Ten, Âmeny', who is perhaps to be identified with the Âmeny at Beni-Ḥasan who is known to have led an expedition to Nubia some time before the forty-third year of Sesostris I. No. 3 records the year forty-five of Sesostris I, and thus proves that the king was alive three years after he had made his son Âmenemhât II co-regent with him, which he did in his forty-second year. No. 4 gives the year five of Âmenemhât II, and this certainly shows that Sesostris I was dead at that time, or his name would have been written instead of that of his son, and his year forty-seven would have been recorded. Thus it may be stated that Sesostris I died after his forty-fifth year and before his forty-seventh year. The expeditions to Nubia at these two dates have not been known previously. No. 5 gives what seems to be year twenty-two of a king whose name is not easy to identify. By the appearance of the weathering of the hieroglyphs the inscription is certainly to

[1] In a recent visit to 'Amâda the writer observed the signs 'Year 18' above the cartouche, but these were very indistinct. The important historical inscription on Plate LXXV is to be found on a rock near by.

be dated to about the same time as the other inscriptions. No. 6 gives the name of a king Seânrâ,[1] who is quite unknown in Egypt, though his name occurs several times in Nubia. By the style of his name, the cut of the hieroglyphs, and the weathering of the stone, he is to be dated to the end of the Middle Kingdom.

The Cemeteries.

A short way to the north of this rock there are two plundered 'Pan' cemeteries, called, in the section on the 'Pan-graves', 'Amâda 1 and 2. From these sites some beautiful fragments of painted pottery (see Plate A) were collected; but a short excavation revealed no untouched tombs, the thieves having entirely gutted the place a few years ago. Several stone circles and enclosures are to be seen in this neighbourhood. Another cemetery here, of Graeco-Roman times, has met with the same fate. About three kilometres to the north, and one kilometre south of the temple, there are three plundered 'Pan' cemeteries, which have been called here 'Amâda 3, 4, and 5. These are to be found just to the east of a group of deserted houses, No. 5 lying on a slight mound of earth, and 3 and 4 being a few metres to the south-west of it. Nos. 3 and 4 appear to belong to the Middle or New Kingdom, and No. 5 to the Old Kingdom. Some Graeco-Roman graves are to be seen in this neighbourhood, but these, too, have been ruthlessly robbed and smashed up quite recently. A few metres to the south-west of the temple there is a plundered cemetery, probably of the New Empire, but as the fragments of pottery lying about have been much mixed, and all the tombs robbed and broken, only a careful excavation would reveal the date. More devastated cemeteries, one of Graeco-Roman times, and one of the 'Pan-grave' type, lie about two kilometres north of the temple. Five kilometres to the north there is another plundered 'Pan' cemetery, which has been called 'Amâda 6.

Situation of the Temple.

The temple of 'Amâda stands a short way back from the river, at the top of a gentle slope. Half buried in sand, there is little in its outward appearance to impress the visitor; and as one trudges over the soft desert towards its doorway, the heavy walls and pillars of the hall look squat and uninviting. The building stands amidst the most desolate scenery, this bank of the river being here quite uninhabited. The hills have receded into the distance, and the undulating desert stretches uninterrupted for many kilometres. The sandy bank of the Nile is edged with small trees; but nothing else grows, and if there was ever any cultivated land here it is now deep under the sand. The opposite bank of the river, however, is here lined with a thick growth of palms and other trees, while good crops are grown around them. A splendid range of dark, many-peaked hills rises behind these trees, and as seen from 'Amâda, with the morning light upon them, or the sun setting behind them, they form one of the grandest scenes upon the Nile.

History.

In ancient times the district around 'Amâda seems to have been thickly populated by those 'Pan' tribes whose cemeteries have just been described. These people maintained themselves by their herds of cattle or goats, as is evidenced by the remains of stockades, and probably made no attempt to grow

[1] The name Seânrâ may have some connexion with Serâ-ântef, since the name Ântef-ââ is written Ân-ââ sometimes.

any crops, even if the land had permitted. Evidence has been noticed which shows that they had settled here during the Old Kingdom (Cemetery 5), but their numbers were increased during the Twelfth Dynasty, and when the expeditions of that dynasty visited the 'Amâda rock, they probably found the place to be very populous. Sesostris III seems to have had some definite connexion with the place, for his name is particularly mentioned in the temple. The existing building, dedicated to Râ-Harmachis, was begun by Thoutmosis III, but the reliefs were not executed until the first years of the reign of his son Amenophis II. All over the temple the names of these two kings occur side by side. If, on the north wall, the cartouche of Thoutmosis is above that of Amenophis, then, on the south wall, the cartouche of Amenophis will be above that of Thoutmosis. And if the cartouche of the former is written on the left doorpost, the cartouche of the latter will be found on the right doorpost. It is certain, then, that Amenophis II is responsible for the decoration of the temple, and the fact that he placed his father's cartouches side by side with his own shows both that filial piety was not absent from his character, and also that he was very well aware of his father's great reputation, and realized that his name was one to juggle with. Amenophis II had not been on the throne more than two years when he completed this temple, and he must have been doubtful of the potency of his own as yet unknown name to strike terror into the hearts of the rebellious. The hypostyle hall was added in the front of the main building by Thoutmosis IV, whose cartouches may here be observed. One scene shows the king as a boy, with the side lock of hair which is characteristic of Egyptian youths. It will be remembered that this king was still a young man when he died. Amenophis IV sent his agents here to erase the name of Âmen from the temple inscriptions; and later on Sethos I built a small temple here, restored the obliterated name wherever it occurred in the older temple, and had his cartouches inscribed here and there on the walls. At a later date the sign *Set* in his own name was erased, as that god had fallen into disrepute, and was well on his way to becoming the *Satan* of the present day. King Siptah's cartouches are inscribed on the doorposts of the vestibule, together with figures of Queen Tawsret and the great chancellor Bey. The temple's history now passes to Coptic times, when the building was turned into a church, and the reliefs covered with plaster. This plaster has now peeled off, and the fine reliefs beneath still retain their colour as a consequence of Christian prejudice.

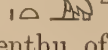
Preservation.

In other respects also the temple proper is well preserved, and the roofing is more or less complete. The hypostyle hall, however, is more ruined, and the side walls are much broken. Formerly there were two pylons at the main entrance, but these have disappeared, and the doorway thus appears isolated. Much requires to be done to protect the temple against native thieves or European vandals. It now stands quite open and unprotected, and a great deal of damage has been done to it in recent years. Over the reliefs on the doorpost, an employé at the Derr Police Station painted a large numeral in red paint a short time ago; and this the writer had removed, though a bad stain remains. When censured, the employé stated that he had no idea that the place was anything but a convenient landmark. Across one of the finest reliefs 'W.W. 1905' has been heavily cut in large

size, and there are many other tourists beside W.W. in Egypt each year against whose vulgarity the temple must be protected.

Description of the Temple.

The temple is entered through a doorway upon the west side, facing the river. On the left doorpost King Thoutmosis III is represented, embraced by Harmachis, the patron god of the temple; and on the right Amenophis II is shown embraced by the same god. Below these scenes there are Ramesside inscriptions of a Viceroy of Ethiopia. Entering the doorway one sees on either side of the doorposts the cartouches of Sethos I, beloved of Harmachis-Tum. On the left wall Amenophis II is seen being led up to Harmachis by Horus. Below is an inscription in thirteen lines, referring to Merenptaḥ's campaign in Ethiopia. On the right wall is an inscription referring to the inspection of the temple by Setaw, Viceroy of Ethiopia, on behalf of Rameses II. On the inner left wall of the doorway occurs the cartouche of Amenophis II, which has been erased by Amenophis IV, altered to Rå-åå-Kheperu, the first name of the king, and then re-written as Åmenḥetep, probably by Sethos I. On the inner right wall is a similar inscription of Thoutmosis III.

The visitor now finds himself in the hypostyle hall, erected mainly by Thoutmosis IV. The roof, which is intact for the most part, is supported by twelve square and four proto-Doric columns, the latter being part of the original building. Walls, built between the pillars of the outer row on either side, enclose the hall. On the pillars on either side of the entrance a figure of a Viceroy of Ethiopia named Nekhtu (?) worships the cartouches of Rameses II. On the pillars up the middle of the hall the cartouches of Thoutmosis IV occur, and the king is seen embraced by Anukis of Elephantine, Harmachis, Amen Rå, and Ptaḥ; while he is said to be beloved of Satis of Elephantine, Anukis of Elephantine, Nekheb of El Kab, Isis, Bast of 'Ankhtawi (a part of Memphis), Khnum of , Khnum of  , Bîgeh, Horus of Mååm, Horus of Båki, Horus of (*sic*), Beḥeni, Menthu of Arment, Ptaḥ of , Åmen Rå, and Harmachis. In the inscriptions on the architraves he is beloved of Åmen Rå, Ptaḥ, and Harmachis; and he is said to have built this monument for his father Rå-Tum, who was practically identical with Harmachis. On the pillars and walls of the north side of the hall there is firstly an inscription of Thoutmosis IV, in which he is said to be beloved of Sesostris III, the great king who first conquered Upper Nubia. The king is next represented as being presented to Harmachis by Satis; after which he is seen being led to Åmen Rå by Horus; and lastly he is embraced by Isis. On the south side, the first scene shows the king as a youth, presented to Harmachis by a goddess whose name is lost. Next, Thoth is shown recording the years of the king; after this there is a broken scene representing the king kneeling before a sacred tree; and finally, the king is embraced by Hathor of Abu Simbel. On the four proto-Doric columns the names of Thoutmosis III and Amenophis II are written, and the inscription states that the king has made this monument for his father Harmachis. The end wall of the hall is, of course, the front wall of the temple proper, and through a doorway lying in the axial line

of the building one passes into the vestibule. On the north side of this wall there is a representation of the king being led forward by Horus and another god; while next to this he is shown with Harmachis and Anukis. On the south side King Thoutmosis III is led forward by Khnum, worships Harmachis, and is embraced by Åmen Rå. On the sides of the doorway leading into the vestibule are figures of Thoutmosis III and Amenophis II, and below them there are two very interesting inscriptions of the time of King Siptah. On the south side there is the figure of Queen Tawsret, and on the north side is the figure of the chancellor Bey, and near him the cartouches of Siptah, but no figure of the king. The inscriptions state that these figures, &c., were carved by order of the Commander of the Troops of Kush, Piåay. Siptah's connexions with Nubia are recorded in various inscriptions, and in his brief reign he seems to have obtained full control of this part of his kingdom. As one passes through the doorway the cartouches of Sethos I will be seen on either side.

The vestibule is a transverse chamber from which three doorways lead into three inner chambers, the middle one being the sanctuary. On the inside, or east face of the doorway leading from the hall to the vestibule there are the names of Thoutmosis and Amenophis, beloved of Rå and Åmen Rå. On the west wall of the vestibule, Amenophis is seen with the water of life poured over him by Horus of Edfu and Thoth; Thoutmosis is embraced and kissed by Isis; and Amenophis makes an offering to Åmen Rå. On the north wall Amenophis dances before Åmen Rå. On the south wall Thoutmosis is embraced by Horus of Mååm, and Harmachis. On the east wall are the three doorways leading into the inner chambers. That on the north is inscribed with the name of Amenophis, beloved of Rå and Åmen Rå; that on the south has the cartouches of Thoutmosis; and the doorway into the sanctuary is inscribed with the cartouches of Thoutmosis, beloved of Harmachis and Åmen Rå. On the north side of this last-mentioned doorway Amenophis is represented embraced by Harmachis, and on the south side Thoutmosis is embraced by Åmen Rå.

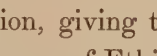
The chamber on the north side of the sanctuary should now be visited. The cartouches over the inside face of the doorway are those of Thoutmosis III. In the upper row on the north wall Amenophis offers three times to Åmen Rå; and in the lower row he offers to Harmachis three times. In the upper row of the south wall Thoutmosis offers to Harmachis and Åmen Rå; and in the lower row he offers to Rå and Harmachis, while Hathor stands beside him. In the west wall a doorway has been cut into a small chamber, which should really be entered from the sanctuary. The doorway cuts through scenes in which Thoutmosis worships Hathor, Åmen Rå, and Harmachis. The chamber on the south side of the sanctuary should now be examined, and the scenes in it will be found to be of considerable interest. They represent the ceremonies performed at the foundation of the temple, and they show that Thoutmosis founded the building, and Amenophis performed the first sacrifices there. On the east face of the doorway the cartouches are those of Thoutmosis. In the upper row of the north wall Thoutmosis worships Åmen Rå; Safkhet and Åmen Rå drive in the posts which mark the limits of the new temple; the king stands before Åmen Rå; and lastly, the king is embraced by Åmen Rå. In the lower row the king dances before Harmachis; 'stretches the

cord', for planning the temple, before Harmachis; and makes offerings to Rå. In the upper row of the south wall Amenophis brings cattle to sacrifice before Åmen Rå; and offers the same when slain to Harmachis and Åmen Rå. In the lower row Amenophis is led forward by Horus and Harmachis; he uplifts the bâton before Harmachis; and dances before that god. In the east wall the doorway has been cut, as before, and the scenes are obliterated.

Returning and entering the sanctuary, the cartouches of Thoutmosis are seen on the inside face of the doorway, and he is said to be beloved of Rå. On the north wall Amenophis is represented standing between Hathor and Harmachis; and the king is also shown offering to Åmen Rå. At the end of this wall is a doorway leading into the small chamber mentioned above. The cartouches on this doorway are those of Amenophis. On the south wall the king is given life by Åmen Rå; he is saluted by Satis; and offers to Harmachis. The doorway at the end of this wall, which leads into the corresponding small chamber, is surmounted by the cartouches of Amenophis. On the east wall Amenophis is seen in the sacred boat of the sun, offering to Harmachis and Åmen Rå. Below this scene there is an inscription in twenty horizontal lines, which is of great historical importance. It is dated in the third year of Amenophis II, and states that that king was a great warrior, and could draw a bow which no man in his army could use; that he was also a great builder of temples, and established the laws relating to divine offerings; that he decorated this temple which had been begun by his father; that it was built of stone; that he surrounded it with a brick wall, made the doorways of sandstone and the doors themselves of cedar, erected pylons of stone, and placed vessels of silver and bronze, altars, fire-pans, tables, &c., in the temple; that on his return from a war in Asia he had this tablet erected and engraved with his great name; that he brought from Asia seven captive princes, six of whom he slew with his own hand in Thebes, and the seventh he hanged on the wall of Napata (in the Sudân), in order to strike terror into the hearts of the inhabitants.

Passing now through the door in the north wall into the small chamber, one finds the name of Thoutmosis on the inner face of the doorway, and above it the cartouche of Amenophis. On the east wall Thoutmosis is twice shown before Harmachis, and Amenophis twice before Åmen Rå. On the north wall Amenophis offers to Åmen Rå, while Hathor stands behind him; and to Harmachis, while Horus of Edfu stands behind him. On the west wall the doorway has been cut through scenes representing Thoutmosis offering to Åmen Rå and Amenophis to Harmachis. Returning and entering the corresponding little chamber on the south side of the sanctuary, the cartouches of Amenophis, beloved of Rå and Åmen Rå, are seen on the doorway, while above them are those of Thoutmosis. On the east wall Amenophis and Thoutmosis offer to Åmen Rå and Harmachis. On the south wall Amenophis offers to Åmen Rå, and Thoutmosis to Harmachis. On the west wall Amenophis is embraced by Åmen Rå, and Thoutmosis pours water over the figure of Åmen Rå, the other scenes being lost.

On the roof of the temple there are a few Coptic inscriptions of no interest. There is here an interesting forgery probably dating from the Middle Ages. It is a Greek inscription reading 'Herodotus of Halicarnassus beheld and admired'; and near it in a later style of writing is 'No he did not'. Herodotus, of course,

did not go nearly as far up the Nile as this. On the outside of the hypostyle hall, south side, there is an inscription of a Viceroy of Ethiopia adoring Harmachis. In the hypostyle hall there is a small pyramidion of the Viceroy of Ethiopia, Mesu; and a fragment of an inscription, giving the date  'Year I' under Rameses I, and referring to a Viceroy of Ethiopia; but unfortunately the main part of the inscription is lost. This is one of the only two dated inscriptions of this reign.

Later Temple.

Between the temple and the river there is a square platform of hewn stone, which seems to have been the pavement of a temple. There are remains of fluted columns, and in two places the cartouche of Sethos I was seen. There are steps mounting between stone balustrades to the platform on its west side. The place requires to be excavated before more can be said, and the archaeologist who undertakes the work will probably be rewarded by the discovery of a fragment or two of the temple reliefs. He will also find occupation in searching for 'Pan-graves' and other tombs in the neighbourhood, and in locating the site of the town which may have stood near the temple.[1]

From Es Sebû'a to Derr: East Bank.

On this, as on the other side of the river, there are no ancient sites of any importance to be met with between Es Sebû'a and Derr. The usual drawings of animals are to be found; and the fragmentary remains of graves of the Roman period are here and there to be met with. A large cemetery, quite dug out, but apparently dating from Roman times, lies at the mouth of the valley known as Khor Shatûrmeh. At the village of Sinḳâri there is a small cemetery of 'Pan-graves', now dug out. A few kilometres south of this the houses of Korôsko come into view. Korôsko owes its importance to the fact that it is the terminus of the great caravan route to the Sudân, the Nile at Abû Hamîd being reached from here in eight days, and Berber in twelve. In the eighties a British garrison was stationed at Korôsko, and the ruins of the encampment and temporary barracks are to be seen here. The British cemetery, in which there are some forty tombstones, lies a short distance up the great valley behind the town. Before the Sudân wars a large number of caravans passed along the road to and from the Sudân, and at present a certain amount of traffic continues. It has generally been considered by Egyptologists that this was the road used by the Pharaohs in their wars against Kush; but this is most certainly not the case. A fairly thorough search over the neighbouring hills and valleys, and for some five kilometres along the caravan road, did not reveal a single inscription or graffito. The writer was even unable to find the one known inscription from this neighbourhood, which gives the twenty-ninth year of Âmenemhât I, but which is now perhaps destroyed. If Korôsko had been the starting-point of the Pharaonic expeditions into Ethiopia there would certainly be graffiti and steles on the rocks. Between Korôsko and Derr the steep hills offer tempting smooth faces of rock on which inscriptions might have been cut; but the writer found nothing except a few drawings of animals.

Korôsko.

[1] Mr. D. Randall MacIver is now excavating these sites.

From 'Amâda to Anâybeh : West Bank.

In the description of the antiquities of 'Amâda a cemetery about five kilometres above the temple was recorded. After another three or four kilometres have been covered one comes into sight of Derr, the white buildings of which can be seen on the opposite bank under the tall palms. Exactly opposite the police station there are one or two inscriptions on the rocks, of no particular importance ; and some prehistoric drawings of cattle are to be seen. One large inscription (Plate LIV, No. 5) gives the name of a certain Demà, an official of the Middle Kingdom. The Nile now turns again, and the left bank of the stream becomes the north-west bank. A short distance beyond Derr there is a fine head of rock coming down to the water's edge, with trees at the foot of it. Beyond this the hills recede and the large village of Tomâs commences, and extends for the next four kilometres or so. There are here broad fields in front of the houses, and steep rocks behind them. On these rocks there are several inscriptions which require to be copied and photographed. Just behind the west end of the village there is the ruin of a Byzantine fortress, or monastery, on the side of a head of rock, and higher up there is a ruined tomb, having an arched doorway of good masonry. This is known as Shêkh Daûd, and the name Daûd (David) may perhaps refer to the ancient building rather than to a more modern Shêkh's tomb in the neighbourhood. Two pieces of pottery picked up here are shown on Plate LIV, numbered 8. The first is of rough red ware, with the pattern painted in white upon it, and the other is of plain rough brown ware. On the south side of the head of rock there are some quarries, which may have supplied the stone for 'Amâda temple. There are several inscriptions of different dates here, amongst which is a large one of the Governor of Ethiopia, Setaw, with the cartouche of Rameses II. A few metres further along there are some inscriptions, two of which, numbered 3 and 6 on the Plate, give the cartouches of the unknown kings Kakarâ and Seànrâ. One inscription has the name Tetà, and another is accompanied by a picture of a sacred boat. Half a kilometre further on are many drawings of prehistoric animals. At the south end of Tomâs there is another bluff of rock, on the north side of which is a fine valley known as the Khor Bêt er Risḳ. On one side of this there is a plundered cemetery of Ptolemaic times. On the south face of the rock there is a large inscription of Kakarâ, numbered 4 on the Plate, and beneath it a large number of prehistoric drawings of giraffes. Further along there is cut a praying figure of Setaw worshipping the cartouche of Rameses II. A few metres more and one comes to a spirited drawing of a man on a camel, with the Greek inscription 'Paulou Michaēl'. This is probably a piece of work of the last century. Higher up on the rocks there are some inscriptions, three of which are shown on Plate LXXV. Beyond this again there are numerous inscriptions of the Old and Middle Kingdom, which require to be carefully copied in facsimile. Many of these inscriptions are shown on Plates LVII and LVIII. No. 9 with the cartouches of Pepy and Tetà is interesting. No. 27 gives the cartouche of Saḥurâ. No. 22 seems to give the cartouche of Àsesà. No. 18 gives the sixth year of an unnamed king, probably of the Sixth Dynasty. The three most important inscriptions, however, are Nos. 28, 29, and 30, which give the cartouches of Ḥor-nefer-ḥen, a king

Tomâs.

whose name has so far only been known on a fragment of alabaster belonging to Prof. Petrie. From here a great caravan road runs back into the desert, leading to Khârgeh Oasis, Aswân, and finally to Lower Egypt, and southwards to the Sudân; and it is probable that these inscriptions were written by members of expeditions into Nubia, who were camping at this point, where the road and the river meet. The road leading to Medîk, and cutting off the bend of the river, also starts from here, and these inscriptions may have a close relation to those found at Medîk of the same period. Beyond this the hills recede, and the village soon comes to an end. An island off this end of the village is able to be cultivated by the natives, and the crops and trees rising from the water form a scene of considerable beauty. Near the last houses of the village there is a plundered Ptolemaic cemetery, and near it some fragments of 'Pan' pottery were observed. The desert now comes down to the water's edge in a gentle slope until it is interrupted by the recommencement of palm groves belonging to the village of 'Afieh. Half way between the palms of Tomâs and those of 'Afieh there is a sandy mound covered with Ptolemaic or earlier pottery, and showing signs of being the remains of a good-sized town. The cemetery is just to the west of the mound, behind the first houses of the village, but the tombs are entirely robbed. The village extends for some distance, with the palms in front of it, and behind it a short strip of sandy desert bordered by low rocks, the higher hills being far back in the distance. Beyond 'Afieh the palms give out, and the bank becomes sandy again. The large and richly cultivated island, known as Gezîret Ibrîm, or Gezîret Abu Râs, is now reached; and on the low rocks of the desert, opposite its north-east end, there stands a fortified building known as Ḳarânḳo. The building is three stories in height, and is of crude brick for the main part, but the base of the walls is of masonry. The roofing is mainly vaulted, and most of it has fallen in; but there is one chamber quite intact in all respects, while many of the walls in other parts of the building rise to a considerable height. To the west of the monastery there are the remains of a town in which the walls of many of the houses can be detected without excavation. A clearance of the site would reveal the entire plan of the town, and would date the fortress—a matter which would be of great interest. It is to be observed that all the bricks used at Ḳarânḳo are of large size, resembling those of the fortress at Anâybeh, which may have supplied them. Beyond Ḳarânḳo there is little of interest except one late cemetery until the outskirts of the village of Anâybeh are reached.

'Afieh.

Ḳarânḳo.

Derr.

The town of Derr is situated about 22 kilometres above Korôsko, 27 above 'Amâda temple, and 211 above the barrage. It stands amidst a forest of palms, and the steep cliffs rising behind it are more than a kilometre from the river. There is here a Post Office, a small store, and the police station, from which the whole district from Dehmîd in the north to Adendân in the south is administered. The temple is excavated in the cliffs at the back of the town, and thus forms a convenient place for the depositing of rubbish and filth. The officials of the town had hardly heard of the Antiquities Department, and knew practically nothing of the decrees of 1894, which placed the ancient monuments under police

Situation.

protection. On being informed that the children of the village played at 'hide and seek' in the temple, and amused themselves by scratching at the hieroglyphs on its wall, they replied that this was the case. The temple lies open to the world, and has no watchman appointed by the Antiquities Department, and these people are, therefore, not to be blamed for regarding it as a place of no value. Nor can the natives who shot their rubbish there be censured, for the dirt from the bats, birds, and dogs had rendered the place fit for the reception of nothing else. A large amount of tattered and indescribably dirty clothing lay in the sanctuary. In the hall were ginger-beer bottles and old tin cans, a discarded native cap and a shoe, some blood-stained rags, and a dead dog. The preservation of the temple is not good. The open hall has been much damaged, and all the pillars have disappeared, except for their bases. The colossi on the pillars of the portico have been intentionally destroyed, perhaps by the Early Christians, and only their feet remain. Parts of the roof of the interior have fallen in, and rocks from above the main entrance now completely block the passage. At present a side door, cut in later times, admits the visitor to the temple. The main reason for the ruined condition of the temple is that it was excavated in faulty rock. No masonry was used, but every wall, pillar, architrave, roofing block, and statue, was cut from the natural rock; except, perhaps, at the northern extremity of the outer hall, where the architraves and wall-tops may have been finished off with stone construction. The poor quality of the stone has not always allowed the walls to be cut in straight lines, and here and there a sweeping curve has had to be made.

Preservation.

History.

On the west bank it has been seen that there are no antiquities after Es Sebû'a and 'Amâda, and on the east bank Derr is the first met with. From these points towards the south there is a continuous series of ancient remains on both banks as far as Ermênneh, where the next break comes. This temple of Rameses was, thus, on the northern frontier of the populous district, and not in the midst of it, as one might have expected. As has been pointed out in the section on the history, this district formed the principality of Mâåm; and Rameses II must, therefore, have been influenced rather by religious than by political motives in placing his temple here, where there does not seem to have been an important town of which any remains have been left nearer than 'Amâda or Ibrîm. The temple, however, is half way between the shrine of Thoutmosis III at Ellesîyeh, and that king's temple at 'Amâda, and the site thus seems to have been held in religious esteem. Rameses II called his temple 'The Temple of Rå', and, according to the inscriptions dedicated it to Rå, Harmachis, and Åmen Rå, while Ptaḥ also takes a prominent place, one of the four statues in the sanctuary representing him.

Description of Temple.

There is no mention of the restoration of the temple by any later king, nor of any visit to it; and one must therefore suppose that it gradually fell into ruin, and did not survive the fame of Rameses II.[1] The pillared hall in front of the temple has upon its walls some scenes of considerable interest. On the east end of the north wall a battle scene has been represented, but only parts of some figures and a chariot now remain. On the east wall prisoners are led to the king, but this

[1] It is probable that Pennutt in his tomb at Anâybeh, which dates from the time of Rameses VI, refers to Derr Temple simply as a landmark.

scene has almost disappeared; next, the king, in his chariot, drawn by galloping horses, goes into battle, and the enemy fly before him or are trampled under his horses' hoofs; then the king, having alighted from his chariot, seizes four of the enemy by the hair; and finally he leads a row of prisoners to Rå-Harmachis. Above these scenes the king has been shown before the gods, but only the representation in which he stands before Tum of On is left. On the west wall the main, and only easily understandable, scene shows the king in his chariot shooting arrows at the enemy who fly from him. Negroes with bows and arrows are seen hastening back to their encampment amongst the hills and trees. Some are carrying away a wounded comrade upon their shoulders, while others break the news to the women. A child flies to its mother, a calf runs towards a cow; the goats and oxen belonging to the negroes wander unattended. Some Egyptian princes or officers bring in the prisoners whom they have captured, but the Pharaoh, galloping after the defeated enemy, does not seem to heed them. Above this scene the king is represented worshipping Åmen Rå. On the south wall, at the west side of the entrance, the king is shown in the act of slaying four Asiatic prisoners in the presence of Åmen Rå, while beside the king is his pet lion, . The king is also shown here before Ptaḥ and before Thoth of Hermopolis. Below these scenes nine daughters of Rameses are shown. These are Bakmut, Nefertåri, Nebtawi, Isis-nefert, Hemttawi, Wernure, Nezemmut, and two others whose names are obliterated. On the east side of the doorway the king is represented slaying four Asiatics, again, in the presence of Harmachis, while the pet lion seizes one of the victims—a fact which shows that this lion's actions, as seen in these reliefs, are to be regarded symbolically, for no lion which was allowed to taste blood in this indiscriminate manner could be kept under any sort of control. On this wall the king is also shown before Khnum, but the rest of the scenes are lost. On the lower part of the wall eight of the king's sons are shown, these being Amenḥerkhepshef, Rameses, Paråherunmif, Khåmwast, Menthuḥerkhepshef, and three others whose names are lost. On the pillars the king is seen before the following gods: Horus of Beḥeni, Horus of Baki, two other forms of Horus now unreadable, Harmachis, Ptaḥ, Tum, Khonsu, Thoth, Mut, Isis, Werthekaw, and Sekhmet.

On entering the interior of the temple one finds oneself in a square hall, the roof of which is supported by six square pillars. At the far end there are three doors leading to three chambers, of which the middle one is the sanctuary. The reliefs in the hall are purely of a religious nature. On the north wall, to the east of the entrance, the king, between Harseisis and another god, is led up to Harmachis and a goddess. On the west side of the entrance he offers to Neith, and is anointed by Harseisis and a god who seems to be Thoth. On the west wall the king offers incense and a libation to the boat of Harmachis carried on the shoulders of priests; and further on he kneels upon a *ḥeb* sign before Åmen Rå, who blesses him. Behind Åmen Rå stands Mut, and behind the king are Thoth of Hermopolis, Menthu of Thebes, and Harseisis, each carrying a sign. On the east wall the king offers again to a sacred boat carried on the shoulders of the priests; he worships the ithyphallic Åmen Rå and Isis; and he stands beside a sacred tree, while Ptaḥ and Sekhmet are before him, and Thoth behind him. On

the east end of the south wall the king worships Harmachis and Hathor of On. Above the small doorway leading into the side chamber here the figures of gods can just be discerned. On the west end of the south wall the king is represented before Åmen Rå, Rameses deified, and Mut. Over the doorway leading into the side chamber the gods Menthu of Thebes, Tum, Shu, and Tefnut are shown. On the pillars the king is seen before Åmen Rå, Harmachis, Ptaḥ, Menthu of Thebes, Tum, Thoth, Khonsu, Anubis, Horus, Anḥur, Mut, Werthekaw, and Isis. Upon the architraves the king states that he made the temple for Åmen Rå, Rå, and Harmachis. The roof is painted with the usual decoration of vultures and cartouches, but little of this now remains.

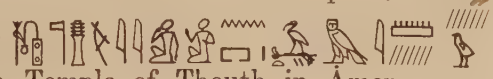
Passing into the sanctuary four almost completely destroyed statues will be found at the south end. These represented Ptaḥ, Åmen Rå, the king, and Harmachis. On the east wall the king worships the sacred boat, behind which is the deified figure of himself; and he stands before Ptaḥ. On the west wall he worships the sacred boat, and offers to Harmachis. On the north wall, at either side of the doorway, there is a figure of the king. Inside the doorway the king is seen before Harmachis and Åmen Rå. The chamber on the east side of the sanctuary is dark and partly filled with stones. Inside the doorway the king is shown before Harmachis. On the east wall he stands before Tum, before Åmen Rå, and before a hawk-headed deification of himself. On the south wall he stands before Harmachis and Åmen Rå (?). On the west wall he stands before Thoth, before Mut, and dances before a deified form of himself 'in the sacred boat in the Temple of Rå'. The chamber on the west side of the sanctuary is also very dark, and the floor is much broken up by stones. In the doorway the king is seen before Harmachis. On the east wall he stands before Ptaḥ, before Åmen Rå, and before Harmachis. On the south wall he stands twice before Rameses 'in the sacred boat in the Temple of Rå'. On the west wall he dances before Osiris, Isis, and Horus; and worships Harmachis.

Other Antiquities.

About two hundred metres north of the temple there is a Ramesside stele now almost obliterated. It is peculiar in the fact that it is enclosed in a kind of frame, consisting, on either side, of a miniature lotus pillar in high relief; at the top, of the architrave; and, at the bottom, of the pavement. Near it is another stele having upon it a figure adoring Horus of Mååm. This figure represented a Viceroy of Ethiopia (?) named Åmenemḥeb. Above the stele is the cartouche of Rameses II. On the rocks near by there are some drawings of giraffes and gazelles. The writer was unable to find the tomb, mentioned by Murray, in which two dogs facing one another are said to be represented, but at Ellesîyeh there is a tomb, at the door of which two rams facing one another are seen.

From Derr to Ḳaṣr Ibrîm: East Bank.

About two kilometres south of Derr there is a plundered Roman cemetery at the mouth of a valley known as Khôr Ishibîeh, and on the rocks around there are several drawings of animals. Near this there is a recess cut in the rocks, and almost filled with rubbish. The roof, which is now only about a metre from the ground, is supported by six rectangular pillars. A short distance further on there is another Roman cemetery extending for more than half a kilometre; but almost

all the tombs have been robbed and smashed up. The village of Tonḳâleh is now passed, while in the river the island known as Gezîret Tonḳâleh comes into view. Half a kilometre north of this island there is an inscription, high up on a shelf of rock, reading sic 'The *mer* of the offerings of Åmen Rå and Khonsu, Thouthotep son of Sebakhotep'. Near this there are four Aramaic (?) inscriptions, which require to be studied and copied; and a few metres away is an inscription reading  'The scribe of the Temple, Mery, of the Temple of Thouth in Åmen . . . . [? Abahûdeh].' Half a kilometre further southwards is the inscription shown on Plate LXIV, No. 1, and near it is another, reading 'The Scribe of all the gods Seḥorâ'. The inscription numbered 2 on Plate LXIV is to be found about a kilometre further to the south.

Tonḳâleh.

Exactly opposite the strip of sand which lies between the villages of Tomâs and 'Afieh there is a remarkable cistern hewn in the rock. It consists of two basins, the one being higher than the other and connected with it by a drain. The sides of the basins are cemented. On the north side of a small bay, 200 metres to the south, there are two foreign inscriptions (No. 6 on Plate LXIV); 300 metres from this is an inscription reading , and within the next 300 metres two other graffiti, numbered 3 and 5 on the Plate, are found. For some distance the hills have come down to the water's edge, but now they recede, and there is again room for a narrow strip of arable land. A couple of hundred metres further to the south the interesting stele shown on Plate LXIV was found. It is about 1 m. 20 cent. in height and 0 m. 70 cent. in breadth. At the top there is a seated figure of Horus of Mååm, before whom a figure of Rameses II offers two vases. The inscription in four horizontal lines refers to offerings given to the statue of Rameses II by Thoutmosis, Prince of Mååm, in what may have been the sixty-third year of his reign. The lacuna in the numeral cannot well be filled by any other numbers than four ten-signs, and the first two tens and the three are quite clear. At the bottom of the stele there is a praying figure of Setaw, Viceroy of Ethiopia, stating that he made the stele.

A kilometre to the south, at the north end of the village of Sheîmeh, there is an inscription on the rocks reading 'Made by the High Priest of Horus Lord of Måå[m] Dwa . . . . Khå, beloved of Rå'. Near this there is a rock tomb of two chambers, without inscriptions. A kilometre south of this there is a plundered Roman cemetery, and near it there are two or three domed tombs like those which will be seen at Ḳaṣr Ibrîm and Gebel Addeh. The village of Katteh is now reached, and, near the hamlet of Naga Oglan, there is a graffito reading 'The Retainer of Mååm Ḥerḥorâ'. About four or five kilometres to the south stands the small rock temple of Ellesîyeh. At this point the hills rise precipitously behind the palms at a distance of about a kilometre from the river, and the little temple is

Sheîmeh, and Katteh.

Ellesîyeh Temple.

cut in the side of the cliff. It consists only of a transverse chamber with a small recess leading from it. It was excavated by Thoutmosis III, and a large stele outside the doorway gives a date which has been read as 'Year 43', but which, in the opinion of the writer, is more probably 'Year 50'. On the façade of the temple many inscriptions have been cut by scribes of the temple and other officials, and amongst these the following may be mentioned :—

(1) ; (2) ; (3) ; (4) ; (5) ; (6) ; (7) ; (8) ; (9) .

These give the names of a high priest of Horus of Mâåm, a priest of Horus of Mâåm, a Prince of Mâåm, and an official of Wawat, which go to show the general locality in which the temple stands. There is here a stele also, showing Rameses II offering to Âmen Râ and Horus of Mâåm, while below there is a kneeling figure of Setaw, Viceroy of Ethiopia. Another stele shows a figure offering to Âmen Râ and Horus of Mâåm, but the inscription is obliterated. The dated stele of Thoutmosis III, mentioned above, has upon it a representation of that king worshipping Horus of Mâåm and Satis. Ten lines of the inscription remain, but originally there were more. The stele is cut on the south side of the doorway, and on the north side, opposite it, there is another stele which is much damaged, the date being quite unreadable. Along the whole length of the temple façade, above these inscriptions, there is a line of small rectangular holes apparently intended for supporting the beams of a wooden roof which may have formed a kind of verandah to the temple. The ground level here was also raised in order to make the floor for the verandah.

Over the doorway is the cartouche of Thoutmosis III, beloved of Âmen Râ. Entering the little temple the visitor finds himself in a chamber once beautified by reliefs executed in the best style of the Eighteenth Dynasty, but now made filthy and evil-smelling by bats, and by the habits of the natives. The roof of the chamber is slightly vaulted, but a great part of it has fallen in. The reliefs are so covered with the grime of ages that until they are well scrubbed and brushed (there being no colour left to injure) they are hard to decipher. On the south end of the west wall the king is seen offering to Horus of Hieraconpolis; embraced by Dedun of Takens; and standing before the deified Khakaurâ Sesostris III. On the north end of the west wall he stands before a Horus, and is embraced by Anukis of Takens and Satis. On the south wall the king offers to Hathor of Âbshek; is given life by Horus of Beḥeni (Halfa); is embraced by two goddesses; offers to Horus of Mâåm; and finally stands before a goddess

whose name cannot easily be made out. On the north wall he worships Khnum; makes an offering to Åmen Rå; worships Min of Koptos; and is embraced by Menthu of On. On the south end of the east wall the king is kissed by Satis, and presents offerings to Horus of Màåm. On the north end of the same wall he is kissed by a goddess, and offers to Åmen Rå.

One now enters the recess, at the end of which there are three much damaged statues, probably representing the king between Horus of Màåm and another deity. On the north wall the king is represented before Horus of Màåm; before Åmen Rå; and before Satis of Elephantine. On the south wall he stands before Horus 'Bull of Takens'; before Horus of Màåm; and before Thoth. On both these walls there is a small praying figure, and an obliterated inscription added in later Ramesside times.

High up on the rocks, about 200 metres to the south of the temple, there is a small, low chamber cut in the rocks, and outside the doorway there is a well-executed ram in relief on either side. The chamber is only about two metres square, and has a shaft in it, now filled up. A metre or so away there is a shaft about a metre square and two metres deep, from the bottom of which three little chambers led off to north, east, and south. The chambers are too small to have been used as human burying-places, and there is thus some reason to suppose that they were the tombs of the sacred rams. In a hill shrine south of Ḳaṣr Ibrîm a sacred ram is worshipped in the Eighteenth Dynasty, and its worship here is, therefore, not extraordinary.

Ibrîm.

About three kilometres north of the temple stands the Post Office of Ibrîm, and on the rocks immediately behind it were found the large inscriptions of the unplaced kings Karkarå and Seånrå, accompanied by the figure of a Pharaoh wearing the crown of Upper and Lower Egypt. This is the largest inscription of these kings found in Lower Nubia. A short distance further on is an obliterated stele of Ramesside times. Three kilometres north of Ḳaṣr Ibrîm there are traces of a small quarry, and on a rock near by there is a small stele of Ptolemaic or Roman date, having upon it the figure of a king, whose cartouche is quite unreadable, worshipping a goddess who is Lady of Elephantine. Below is an almost obliterated inscription giving a prayer for the *Ka* of the dedicator. Beside the stele are the inscriptions and 'Made by the libation-priest of Horus Lord of Màå[m] Perå' and 'the libation-priest . . . Ḥor-ḥat'.

The antiquities of Anâybeh, on the east bank, must now be recorded.

Anâybeh.

Situation.

The village of Anâybeh stands on the west bank of the river, some 18½ kilometres above Derr, 229 above the First Cataract, and about 6 kilometres below Ḳaṣr Ibrîm. Along the edge of the river, in front of the houses, there is the usual palm grove, and behind the village are the mounds which mark the site of the ancient town and fortress. Behind this again, the desert slopes up towards the low shelving rocks, and in this space lie many extensive cemeteries of 'Pan-graves' of the Middle Kingdom, and Egyptian cemeteries of Graeco-Roman times. On the

higher levels behind this, the desert stretches in a flat plain, and here there are several brick pyramids, which now stand in ruins. Nearly two kilometres further back, the dark hills rise abruptly from the plain, and in one of these a fine tomb of the Twentieth Dynasty is cut. It will be seen, then, that there is much of interest in Anâybeh. The ruins and remains show that an important city existed here, and it was a matter of great regret to the writer that he was unable to give the time for making a sketch-plan of the whole site.

The ancient name of Anâybeh seems to have been Màåm, and it may have formed, with Ibrîm, the capital of the province of that name. Pennut, whose tomb is to be seen here, was Superintendent of the Temple of Horus, Lord of Màåm, and his wife was a songstress of that god. In the brick pyramid tombs here Mr. D. Randall MacIver has recently found inscriptions of other nobles who call themselves *Màåkheru* '*deceased,*' *in Màåm.* There is no question that the Province of Màåm, in the New Empire, was centred at about this point, for there are more references to it in graffiti and other inscriptions at Anâybeh and Ibrîm than anywhere else. At Anâybeh, as will be seen presently, there was a large town dating from the Eighteenth Dynasty, or earlier, and having a great fortress, a temple in which Amenophis II left his name, and a series of cemeteries more extensive than any others in Lower Nubia.

Anâybeh occupied a position of considerably strategic importance. It is probable that there were rapids at Ḳaṣr Ibrîm, and a fortress was therefore necessary there both to defend the shipping going south and to attack the enemy coming north. The fortress at Anâybeh appears to date from the Twelfth Dynasty, and it was probably erected at the same time as were those of Koshtâmneh and Ḳubbân, which have been already described. Much of the pottery lying on the mounds of the ancient town belongs to the Twelfth Dynasty, but there are also very large quantities of 'Pan-grave' pottery found here, which show that these people occupied the place in great numbers. There is a block of stone lying near the temple bearing the name of Amenophis II, which indicates that he built or restored this temple of Horus. Under Rameses VI Pennut is said, in his tomb inscriptions, to have been Superintendent of this temple.[1] In Ptolemaic times the town was generally beyond the frontiers of Egypt, but under the Romans it was for some time within them.

Remains of Town.

The mounds which mark the site of the ancient town lie behind the houses of the modern village. They are very extensive, and the broken pottery lying on them dates from the Twelfth, Eighteenth and Nineteenth Dynasties, from the 'Pan' races, and from the Ptolemaic and Graeco-Roman periods. The intermediate periods are no doubt represented also, though, while walking over the mounds, the writer did not happen to notice any but fragments of the above dates. Towards the north end of the mounds there is an enclosure over a hundred metres square which may mark the site of a fortress. To the south of this there is a mound upon which are a few weathered blocks of stone, and near by there lies a slab of limestone inscribed with the cartouche of Rå-àå-Kheperu (Amenophis II). This is all that can be seen of the temple, but no doubt an

The Temple.

[1] Mr. Randall MacIver's excavations have brought many remains of the Late New Empire to light.

excavation would reveal much. To the south of the temple there is a great rectangular space, having high mounds around it which are obviously the remains of the walls. On closer examination it is seen that these walls are constructed of brick, and on the east side one may even observe the remains of the turrets which projected from the wall at regular intervals along its whole length. The writer set a few men to clear the side of the wall here and there, and to find the corners, in order that a rough sketch plan might be made of the enclosure; but of course this sketch-plan (Plate LX) does not pretend to give more than the barest idea of the shape and location of the fortress. The walls should be carefully excavated and a good plan made of them, for the history of fortification is always of great interest and of considerable importance to antiquarians. One of the features observed in this fortress may give a clue to its date. Near the east corners there seem to have been serpentine walls, like those at Koshtâmneh, and which, in the description of that place, were shown to belong to the reign of Sesostris III. The large-sized bricks used here are also characteristic of the Twelfth Dynasty. The Fortress.

The cemeteries lie in the desert behind the town, and consist for the most part of plundered 'Pan-graves'. There must be about ten distinct cemeteries of these people here, and between 500 and 800 graves must have been dug out by thieves during recent years. When one considers the vast importance of the Ethnological and Archaeological questions as to the origin and the customs of these races, it is with sentiments of the utmost bitterness that one looks upon this almost complete destruction of the material for study which has taken place during the last five years. If these graves—if one quarter of their original number—remained intact, the archaeologist would be in the position to solve perhaps the whole question of the early races of Egypt and of Nubia. The inhabitants of Anâybeh speak blithely of the gangs of natives from the north who dug out these graves, and they themselves seem to have assisted in the work. The present writer is of the opinion that the latter hardly realized that they were committing a crime in pulling to pieces the cemeteries of the 'heathens'. They had never seen, or even heard of, a Department of Antiquities or its inspectors, and until Monsieur Maspero himself laid aside all his pressing work and personally inspected Lower Nubia in 1904–5, absolutely nothing had been done to report or to check this destruction which by all thoughtful persons can only be described as calamitous. The Cemeteries.

Besides these 'Pan-graves' there are numerous burials of the Graeco-Roman period. The writer opened three of these graves, which are in the form of shallow trenches cut in the sand, and are marked by a pile of loose stones. In one case the body was lying at full length, the head being towards the east. The burial entirely lacked antiquities, and the bones were too much broken to remove. In the other two cases the body was placed inside a pottery coffin without inscription, and ornamented only with a rude attempt at a face, thumbed in the pottery. There must be several of these graves intact here, for the robbers did not find them worth digging; and the archaeologist may at any time fill his museums with specimens of the crude coffins and perhaps a jar or two of this date.

Somewhat further back in the desert, on the ledges of sandstone which rise above the sand, there are to be seen a few shaft tombs of ambiguous date. These are, of course, plundered; and the writer was only able to collect six skulls and a few fragments of late pottery, which, however, may have not belonged to these tombs. The cemeteries of the various dynasties, corresponding to the Egyptian pottery found on the town mounds, have not all been located. About a dozen ruined brick pyramids are here to be observed. The plan and section of the most complete of these tombs is given on Plate LX. It has been said that these pyramids date from the XVIIth–XVIIIth Dynasties; and early travellers speak of paintings which had been observed on their plastered walls. Very little of these now remains; but judging from the style of the buildings, which are constructed of flat bricks of late appearance, and from the pottery lying around, which seems all late New Empire, one is inclined to place them in the Twenty-sixth Dynasty or a little earlier.[1]

Tomb of Pennut.

The most important monument at Anâybeh is the tomb of Pennut which is cut in the side of a hill about a kilometre back from the cemeteries just described. It consists of a rectangular chamber, from which a small niche, opposite the entrance, is excavated, having in it three much broken statues cut from the natural rock. In the middle of the chamber, between the entrance and the niche, is a shaft about three metres deep, and from it the burial chamber leads off. The shaft was originally hidden by a slab of stone, and the groove for its reception can still be seen. The walls of the main chamber are covered with fairly well-executed scenes, the colour of which has remained. These scenes are not broken at all, except in the south-east corner where a part of the surface has fallen away. The tomb at present stands open, and an iron door must certainly be placed on it in order to protect it. The personage who was buried here was named Pennut, and held, as has been said, the office of Superintendent of the Temple of Horus Lord of Mååm. He presented lands and temple furniture for the worship of his master Rameses VI, and in return he received honours and presents from that king. His wife, named Takhå, was a singer in the temple at Anâybeh. The other members of his family held various appointments, such as Superintendent of the king's treasury in Lower Nubia; Scribe of the Treasury; High Priest of Isis; Prince of Mååm. The last-named official was also called Pennut, and seems to have been the elder Pennut's grandson. He married the lady Baksatis.[2]

On entering the tomb one sees upon the left side of the doorway the figures of Pennut and his wife, with an inscription above them. On the north end of the west wall there is an inscription, in twenty horizontal lines, which gives a record of the lands presented to the king for the maintenance of the priests and sacrifices in honour of the statue of the king which stood in the temple of Mååm. On either side of this inscription are the figures of the gods Ptaḥ, Thoth, Åmen Rå, Mut of Åsher, and Khonsu of Thebes. In the upper row on the north wall the Governor of Ethiopia is seen bowing to Rameses VI, who sits under a canopy, and announces

[1] Mr. MacIver has now dated these pyramids definitely to the XXth–XXIst Dynasty.

[2] Mr. MacIver has discovered the names of this Pennut and his wife in one of the brick pyramids.

to him the presentations made by Pennut; the Governor then inspects a small statue of the king which stands upon a wooden pedestal; and Pennut, robed by two servants, holds two silver (?) vessels presented to him by the king. In the lower row there is a family gathering in which seven men and seven women are shown attended by women servants. On the east wall, to the north of the niche, Pennut and his wife, with their six sons behind them, stand before Rå Harmachis who is seated upon a throne. On the south side of the recess, in the upper row, Pennut and his wife stand before Rå-Kheperà; Pennut kneels before Hathor, who is represented as a cow issuing from the mountain, at the foot of which stands the usual shrine with pyramidical roof, and near by the goddess Taöeris is seen holding a scarab in one hand and a staff in the other. In the lower row Pennut and his wife stand before Ptaḥ-Sokaris; Rå-Harmachis is shown beneath a canopy; and Anubis and Thoth pour the water of life over Pennut, who is clothed in a linen robe and wears a scarab at his neck. Pennut and his wife are also shown here before Unnefer. On the south wall, in the upper row, Anubis stands by the coffin of the deceased Pennut, while Isis clothed in white and Nephthys in red, lament for him with arms raised; and next, Harseisis leads Pennut and his wife to the throne of Osiris, behind whom are Isis and Nephthys and the four Genii of the Dead issuing from a lotus-flower. In the lower row the Fields of the Blest are shown, and Pennut and his wife are seen in a boat upon one of the celestial canals. He is also shown worshipping Rå-Harmachis, Tum, and Kheperà. Below are scenes representing harvest-time in the celestial fields. On the south half of the west wall, in the upper row, Anubis and Thoth officiate at the weighing of the heart of Pennut, while the monster who devours the hearts of the evildoers sits near by; Pennut and his wife are next seen in an attitude of prayer, and standing before a sacred shrine. In the lower row the funeral of Pennut is shown. The mummy stands before the door of the tomb, while women weep before it and priests and friends perform the last ceremonies.

Before continuing the journey on the west bank, the antiquities of Ḳaṣr Ibrîm on the east bank must be recorded.

Ḳaṣr Ibrîm.

The Fortress.

For many kilometres in either direction the fortress of Ḳaṣr Ibrîm forms an imposing landmark. Approaching from the north one sees three heads of rock projecting into the water, and on the flat top of the middle hill stand the ruined houses and walls of the fortress. At Dakkeh, it will be remembered, the Ethiopians were defeated by the Roman general Petronius in B.C. 25, who then followed them to Napata, their southern capital. It was during this campaign that the fortress played its first part in history. The Ethiopians had placed a garrison on the hill to resist the Roman advance, and Petronius had to take the place by storm. He then fortified it on an elaborate scale, and left a garrison of 400 men there with provisions for two years. After the decline of the Roman power in Egypt the fortress must have changed hands more than once; but in the sixteenth century the Sultan Selîm placed a garrison of Bosnians here, who, being more or less forgotten by their Government, lived on here from generation to generation until the beginning of the nineteenth century. In 1811, the Mamelukes, retreating from the

north towards Shendy, drove out the Bosnians, but were themselves driven out by Ibrahîm Pasha. When he returned to Egypt the fortress was vacated, and has remained uninhabited ever since. In Roman times the place seems to have been called Primis Parva or Premis ; and in more ancient days it seems to have formed part of the district of Màâm. There were perhaps rapids at this point, and the hill upon which the fortress was built seems to have been sacred in the New Empire.

It is best to ascend the hill on the south-west side, where the ancient road may still be followed, with its rock-cut steps at the steeper parts. The battlements on the south and west sides are very formidable, and those on the east side are also strong. One sees here and there parts of the well-built Roman walls enclosed within the rougher walls of later times. On the east side, at the point where the battlements reach the lowest level, there is a small doorway crowned with a disk and Egyptian cornice. In Roman times there was an internal rock passage leading up from this doorway to the fortress above ; but this is now blocked. The main Roman entrance stands on the north-east side of the hill-top, and consists of a well-built Egyptian doorway, ornamented with the usual cornice, and having pylon-like buildings on either side of it, in which the recess for the flagstaff, so common in Egyptian pylons, is found. This building is solidly constructed of large, well-cut blocks of sandstone, some of which are thought to have been taken from an Egyptian temple. The name of Taharḳa is said to have been found on one of these blocks, but the writer could not find this. The Bosnian town is now entered, and the jumble of roughly built houses makes it difficult to picture the place as it was in Roman times. The main building of that date, however, to which one now comes, indicates that an attempt had been made to render the place civilized and habitable. This building is the church, which occupied the centre of the hill-top, and towards which the streets seem to converge. It is solidly built of masonry, and on three of its sides the walls are still standing. At the north-east end there is a semicircular recess for the altar ; while down the south-east side, and originally down the opposite side also, there runs a series of three masonry arches with granite pillars standing before them. The arches are light and delicate, but the pillars are clumsy. At three points in each arch there is a small decorative cross or other symbol, and on the side of the pillars a cross is fashioned. The south-east wall is plastered and was probably painted ; and a recess in it is built of flat red bricks of purely Roman origin. A short staircase here seems to have led to a kind of pulpit. A slab of grey granite lying in the middle of the building may have been an altar ; and at the west foot of the hill near the water there is a large block of pink granite, which may have come from here. Around this church the more modern buildings cluster, and one sees here and there a granite pillar used as a doorstep, or a block of masonry as a corner stone to a rough wall. The Governor's quarters seem to have been situated on the west side of the fortress, where the spaces are more open and the Bosnian houses are larger. The water for the garrison seems to have been carried up from the river on the precipitous side of the hill, and some steps have been cut here to render the climb more easy. Tanks cut in the rock seem to have held the water, and these are seen to be very numerous. With regard to the preservation of the fine

church and the other Roman buildings here, the work of strengthening the walls and of clearing the débris away should be undertaken as soon as possible, as there is some danger of further falls. The gaffir who is appointed to look after Anâybeh or Derr should occasionally patrol the place, though there is little danger of thieves visiting it. On either side of the fortress, a mile back in the desert, there are numerous small tumuli. In the bay to the north of the fortress there are some brick tombs with domed roofs, such as are also found at Gebel Addeh. It is a question whether these are Christian or Muhammedan,[1] but they are certainly mediaeval. There are here the ruins of a Coptic church, around which much Coptic pottery is found; but there is no foundation for the statement which is sometimes made that the remains of the town of Màâm are to be seen here, though there are the remains of a small late town. On the rocks in this neighbourhood there is a graffito reading simply 'Menthuḥotep', which dates from the Middle Kingdom.

The Shrines.

Immediately below the fortress, in the west face of the cliffs at the edge of the water, five shrines are cut, dating from the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Dynasties. The first shrine was made in the reign of Thoutmosis III, the second shrine dates from the reign of Rameses II, the third from the reign of Thoutmosis III, the fourth from that of Amenophis II, and the fifth is unfinished, and has no inscription. The shrines are not easy to enter, as they are several metres from the ground, and some have practically no footholes or steps by which an ordinary European could climb up to them. The Arab sailors, however, are able to reach them, and when a rope has been let down there will be no difficulty to an active person in swarming up hand over hand. To the archaeologist the interior of the shrines is worth visiting, as the scenes and inscriptions are of great interest.

The inscriptions outside the doorway of the first or southernmost shrine give the cartouches of Thoutmosis III, beloved of Satis of Takens, and Horus of Màâm; and originally they also gave the titles of the Viceroy of Ethiopia Neḥi, who made the shrine. Three damaged statues are seated at the end of the shrine, and probably represented the king between Satis and Horus. On the south wall the king is seen with Min of Koptos behind him, and before him are some damaged figures near which is an inscription in two horizontal lines giving the titles of Neḥi. Near by an inscription states that Neḥi brings the tribute of the south in gold, ivory, and ebony, in the fifty-second year of the king's reign. On the north wall are Anukis, Satis of Elephantine, Horus of Baki, Hathor, Horus of Beḥeni, Horus of Màâm, and Àmen Râ. The name of Àmen has been erased and rewritten. The second shrine has three broken statues in the rear wall, which represent Rameses II between two gods. On the north and south walls several officials are shown doing homage to Rameses, who is seated on a throne. The names of some of these figures can be made out: the Viceroy of Ethiopia Setaw, the scribe Ḥoremḥeb, the scribe of the Troops Àmenemàpt, the scribe Ḥornekht, the scribe Paser, the scribe of the Granaries, Ḥorḥotep; but the rest are now more or less

[1] Mr. MacIver and the writer recently found Coptic steles here, which show that the tombs were Christian.

unreadable. The third shrine has few inscriptions, but the colour is well preserved, and the pattern of red, yellow and white on the ceiling is quite distinct. In the recess at the end of the chamber there are four squat figures seated, representing the king with Horus of Mâåm and with Satis of Elephantine. Over the recess there is a well-executed winged disk, while down one side is the name of Thoutmosis III, beloved of Horus of Mâåm, and down the other side is an obliterated cartouche, which was probably that of Hâtshepsewt, beloved of Satis of Takens. On the side walls there are no inscriptions, except, unfortunately, those written by modern travellers.

The fourth shrine is the most important of the group. In the rear wall are three damaged figures, representing King Amenophis II with a god and a goddess. On either side of the recess in which these statues sit is a painted figure of the king, now almost faded. On the south wall King Amenophis is seen seated under a canopy, while behind him stands a fan-bearer, and near by stands Satis of Elephantine. Before him two officials holding fans bow before him. A long much-damaged inscription here refers to the tribute of leopards (?), oxen, ostriches, &c., some of which are also pictured on the wall. On the north wall the king, with Horus of Beḥeni behind him, worships Khnum, Satis of Elephantine, Anukis of Elephantine, Sept, Hathor of Elephantine, Nekheb. Then there is a damaged figure of the king before Horus of Mâåm. On the north side of the doorway the king is represented with a goddess. Over the doorway, on the outside, there are the cartouches of Amenophis II beloved of Satis and Åmen, and down the sides are damaged inscriptions referring to the Royal Son Usersatis, . A few metres to the south of the shrines, on a rock near the water, there is an inscription in Greek characters but in an unknown language, called by Lepsius 'Christian Ethiopic'. Another example of this is found in the temple of Abahûdeh. In the bay to the south of Ḳaṣr Ibrîm there are the ruins of a Coptic town of no particular interest. The third great head of rock now comes down to the water, and on a smooth part of the cliff there is cut a great stele of Sethos I, recording his victories. At the top the king is seen slaying an enemy in the presence of a god, and near him stands his chariot; but only the lower part of this scene is left. Below this there are twelve horizontal and three perpendicular lines of inscription, and a small figure of the Viceroy of Ethiopia, Åmenemâpt. A short distance further on there is a graffito reading 'The Chief "Reader" of Khnum, Åâkheperkarâ, called Ḥor,' and by it is the figure of a man with hands raised. Persons who visit the Sethos stele—and it should be mentioned that there is no facsimile copy of it published—should walk along the rocks from the north, where there is quite a good pathway. To approach it from the south requires a somewhat dangerous climb which should not be attempted, unless, as in the case of the writer, the visitor happens to be walking from south to north and has no time to make a détour. Before describing the country between Ḳaṣr Ibrîm and Abu Simbel, the western bank from Anâybeh to Abu Simbel must be recorded.

From Anâybeh to Abu Simbel: West Bank.

To the south of Anâybeh the country is sandy and the areas under cultivation are small and far from one another. It is probable that in ancient times there was a rich, if narrow, strip of vegetation running along this bank of the river; but the sand has overwhelmed it, though here and there the natives have shown that it can be reclaimed. About six kilometres south of Anâybeh, and exactly opposite Ḳaṣr Ibrîm, there stands a small fortress, the brick walls of which are in places still three metres high. Perhaps it was built in connexion with the fort of Ḳaṣr Ibrîm. Near it are the remains of a Roman town, which probably formed part of the ancient Primis. The mounds stand amidst a castor plantation. About a kilometre further to the south is a Muhammedan cemetery, probably of mediaeval times, and near it some fragments of 'Pan' pottery were picked up. A hundred metres to the north of this there are a Roman and a 'Pan' cemetery, which offer some promise to the excavator. They lie just behind the houses of the village of Segîsereh, while 400 metres to the south there is another possible site for 'Pan-graves'. Another kilometre to the south, and just opposite the highest peak in the range of mountains on the east bank, there is an extensive 'Pan' cemetery, the graves being covered with stones. The fragments of pottery from these cemeteries in the neighbourhood of Segîsereh are described in the section on the 'Pan-graves'. Half a kilometre to the south of this there is a small mound of earth, from a 'Pan-grave' in which a skull and a fragment of pottery were rescued. A few yards to the south of this there is a pretty little valley running up into the desert between the rocks, and on one of these rocks there is a fairly long inscription, which, in the twilight, when it was seen by the writer, appeared to be written in Demotic.

Karnoag. Segîsereh.

Near the village of Musmus there are two cemeteries, which appear to contain 'Pan-graves' and also some Roman tombs. Some two kilometres south of Musmus there is an extensive 'Pan' cemetery, the graves of which were dug in a mound of earth near the river, and were covered with stones. The writer made a short excavation of a few hours' duration at this place, which was sufficient to show that the place was thoroughly robbed. Just to the north of this cemetery there is a stockade very similar to that described at Arêkah. The walls were constructed of loose stones, some of which still stand on end as they were originally placed. No pottery was found inside the enclosure, which was probably intended for the keeping of the herds of cattle; but the proximity of the 'Pan-graves' and the ancient appearance of the enclosure lead one to date the place to the Middle Kingdom. No ancient sites are now met with until the village of Tôshkeḥ is reached. It will be remembered that in 1889 a British force defeated the Dervishes some ten kilometres back in the desert behind the village, and a road is to be seen leading from the river to the battlefield. To the north of this road there is a mediaeval Muhammedan cemetery; and a short way to the south there is a large but plundered 'Pan' cemetery, the graves of which are heaped over with stones, some of the larger tombs having quite high circular mounds of stone over them. A short excavation was made here and is described in the chapter on the 'Pan-graves'. At the extreme south end of Tôshkeḥ there is a hill in which

Musmus. Tôshkeḥ.

some 'Pan-graves' and some of the Roman age were observed. Other Roman cemeteries are to be found in the neighbourhood; and some distance to the south there are some ruined buildings of brick which seem to have been a Coptic monastery, and from which some Coptic pottery was collected.

Some nine kilometres north of Abu Simbel, near a small hamlet known as Esbet el Arâb, there are some ruined buildings of rough stone which seem to date from late Roman times. Near these there is a small mound upon which stand the ruins of some brick buildings dating from Ptolemaic or Roman times, and which may have formed a fortress. Three kilometres south of this there are some more ruined buildings of brick which may have been a fortress also. About four kilometres north of Abu Simbel, which can now be seen in the distance, there are more ruins of Graeco-Roman buildings, standing on a mound of sand overlooking the river. The crude bricks of which this ruin is formed are flat in shape, like those used in the construction of the pyramids at Anâybeh. The pottery is Graeco-Roman. Four hundred metres to the south there is a cemetery of graves over which stones are piled up. Some are plundered, and fragments of Graeco-Roman pottery lie about. Less than a kilometre from the last-mentioned fortress there are the ruins of a town, near the river's edge. The pottery is Ptolemaic and Roman. The plans of the houses, which are constructed of large-sized bricks, are quite distinctly to be traced; and the town is seen to have extended over an area of about 200 by 100 metres. The excavation of this site would be of considerable interest to those who are studying this period of Egyptian history.

Roman Ruins.

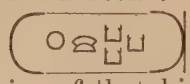
Between this ruin and the temple of Abu Simbel there is a fine desert bay, enclosed by low hills, and having mounds of sand along the river's edge overgrown with bushes, on which the Bedwîn camels feed. A small mound at the north side of this bay has a few graves cut in it, but these have been robbed, and there is nothing by which to date them.

Before describing the temples of Abu Simbel the reader must return to Ḳasr Ibrîm, and follow the east bank of the river up to this point.

From Ḳaṣr Ibrîm to Abu Simbel: East Bank.

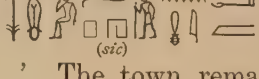
After passing the southernmost of the three heads of rock which have been described under the name of Ḳaṣr Ibrîm, the hills recede again, but along the river bank there are shelving rocks and great boulders which, however, are devoid of graffiti. Two inscriptions, reading ΜΕΡΚΗ and ΟΙΚΤΕΙΡΜΩΝ, a few pictures of giraffes of the archaic period, and a horse of Coptic workmanship, are the only antiquities found here. About twelve kilometres to the south, and some five below Tôshkeh Post Office, there are two hills which rise from a high plateau of rock, the west side of which slopes precipitously to the water. These two hills are surrounded on three sides by a stout wall of broken stones, which thus encloses altogether an area of a couple of square kilometres or more. The fourth side is protected by the cliffs. No pottery is found within the enclosure except a few fragments of Roman date, and one or two of 'Pan' form, the latter being on the hill. It is possible that the place is a Roman stronghold, or again it is perhaps a Nubian fortress of dynastic times. High up on the south-west side of the hill there is a ledge of rock to which a rough and disused pathway leads. On this

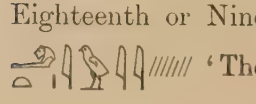
Hill Shrine.

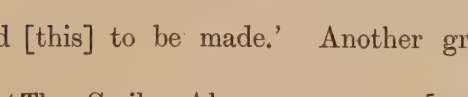
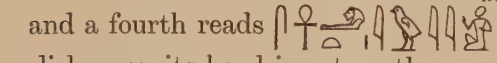
ledge two fragments of regular 'Pan-grave' pottery were found. A portion of the surface of the rock at the back of the ledge has been smoothed and a small figure of a king slaying a negro has been cut in and coloured. Beside the king is the cartouche of Sesostris III  and the workmanship leads one to suppose that it dates from the reign of that king and is not a later instance of the king's worship. His figure is coloured red, his cartouche and the upraised weapon are yellow, and the negro's skirt is red. Near by there is a very neatly executed series of figures and inscriptions dating probably from the Eighteenth Dynasty. The inscriptions are recorded on Plate LXVI. At one end of the scene there are three seated gods, Horus of Mâåm, Sesostris III, and Reshep. Horus wears the double crown and holds the wand in his hand; and the inscription states that 'a thousand of all good and pure things' are offered to his *Ka*. Sesostris III is called 'The King, the Mighty One, living for ever', and wears the crown of Upper Egypt. He holds the crook and flail, and before him a single long-stemmed lotus rises. Reshep wears the crown of Upper Egypt, and holds a mace upraised in one hand and a shield in the other. Before these interesting gods five equally interesting persons worship. The first figure is that of a man who offers incense, and pours a libation on to a table upon which lies a palm-branch. He is called Nebsey. Behind him is 'his wife who loves him' Thâbâw. Next comes Nebsey's son 'the *Mazoi*, or hunter, of the king' holding in one hand a bow and arrows and in the other a gazelle which he has shot. Behind him is another of Nebsey's sons carrying a pair of sandals and a bird, and called 'the watchman of the cattle of Horus, Lord of Mâåm, Sennefer'. Finally, there is a man carrying two boomerangs, and called 'the retainer of the king, the watchman of the royal horns (?)' but his name does not seem to have been given. Below this row of figures there is the figure of the sacred ram feeding from an altar, and having a disk and horns upon its head. The inscription states that a thousand of all good and pure things are offered by the above-mentioned hunter. A longer inscription makes an offering to all the gods of Lower Nubia, but the sense is not clear. Below this again there is the figure of a man offering a vase, and the inscription accompanying it may be a miswriting for 'made by the retainer of his Lord, Râkhâkaw-nebneterew'. There is an interest in this shrine which is as rare as it is pleasing, and it is to be hoped that the place will be visited by the archaeologist and the scene properly copied. One sees here a native herdsman or farmer offering to an Egyptian and an Asiatic war-god and to a deified hero, in a rude rock shrine on a hill-top; one sees his hunter son bringing as a sacrifice the gazelle which he has shot in the desert; and one reads of the herdsman of the sacred cattle, and the watchman whose care it was to collect the horns which formed part of the Nubian tribute. To this day one may here still see the gazelles wandering over the rocks; and, with this shrine before one, the imagination is able to recreate the pastoral scenes in which Nebsey and his sons lived.

Tôshkeḥ. Two kilometres to the south, about half a kilometre back from the river, there is a low mound of rocks, on one of the boulders of which are several inscriptions and drawings. Judging by the discoloration of the stone, the most ancient

drawing here is one representing a negro with a bow and arrows, shown on Plate LXV. The man seems to have a feather in his hair, a necklace round his neck, and perhaps a beard. There are also some drawings of ships and animals of the same date. Rather less discoloured, and therefore less ancient, are some giraffes and gazelles; and cut right over these there is the interesting inscription and figure shown on Plate LXV. The inscription gives the full titles of the king, or the two kings, whose position has been discussed already. Here it seems as though Kakarâ and Seânrâ were one king; but the second cartouche and the unreadable Horus name may have been added, as there is no *se Râ* between them. The rough inscriptions by the side of this seem to be of the same date. A fragment of 'Pan-grave' pottery, shown on the Plate, was found on the rocks beside the inscription. Amongst the numerous animals drawn on the rocks, a rather life-like elephant is noticeable; and a small figure of Min of a later period should also be mentioned.

Two kilometres south of this a somewhat important neighbourhood is reached, which probably formed one of the chief centres of the district of Mâam. The site lies behind the Post Office of Tôshkeḥ, and consists of rock tombs, rock inscriptions, and the remains of the town. The tombs are three in number, and are to be found at the north end of the desert bay, in the west side of an isolated mound of rock. The plan of two of these tombs is given on Plate LXVII. The first consists of a chamber from which an arched doorway leads into a six-pillared hall. Parts of the roof and three of the pillars have fallen in. The second tomb has a four-pillared hall from which a long arched passage leads into an inner chamber, in which is the burial shaft. The third tomb has only two simple chambers, each about four mètres square. In each case the workmanship is rough, and there are no inscriptions on the inner walls, though there are traces of plaster which may have been decorated with paintings. The first tomb has had an inscription outside the doorway, but not much of it can now be read, except a dedication to Osiris and Harmachis by a *mer per*, or steward. More of the inscription could be read in the afternoon when the sun strikes this wall, but the writer visited the place at dawn, and was unable to remain there more than an hour or so. Between the second and third tomb there is a graffito reading  (*sic*) and naming a 'Chieftain of Mâam, Prince of Nefer . . .' The town remains lie to the west of these tombs, and have been dug over by the *sebakhîn*. A certain amount of 'Pan-grave' pottery is to be observed here, and some fragments of Ramesside and Roman shapes. The tombs may be attributed to the Ramesside period. A Copt has written the name Jesu on a rock near here, and to the north there is a Greek inscription reading +ΕΓΩ////Ρ/////ΩΥΥΟΥΚΥΡΙΚΟΥΕΤΡΑΨΑΚ̄CΕΜΟΙ ΒΟΗΘΟC+.

Towards the south end of the bay there is a rocky valley leading up from behind a modern cemetery. On a rock on the south side of this valley, about 100 metres from its mouth, there is a large, well-cut inscription of about the Eighteenth or Nineteenth Dynasty, reading  'The Chieftain of Mâam, Râḥotep, endowed with life; Hâtawy

caused [this] to be made.' Another graffito here reads  'The Scribe Ahmose-seweser; [made] by his son, causing his name to live.' A third inscription reads 'Made by the Scribe Thâse; and a fourth reads  'Causing Hâtawy to live'. A scarab with the disk upon its head is cut on these rocks in two places.

The Kamose and Ahmose Inscription.

Some four kilometres south of this site, at a point between Tôshkeḥ and Ermênneh, the writer was fortunate enough to find the important inscription which is shown on Plate LXV. It is inscribed on a rock at the side of the pathway, about 15 metres back from the river, but being inside a little shady nook of rocks it cannot be seen from the path. This seems to read 'The King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Wazet Kheperrâ, Son of the Sun Kamose, given life. The King of Upper and Lower Egypt Nebpeḥtirâ, Son of the Sun Ahmose, given life . . . Tetâ. The Royal Son. . . .' The fact that the two kings are named together perhaps shows that, like the sovereigns of the Twelfth Dynasty, the kings of the XVIIth–XVIIIth Dynasties sometimes associated their sons upon the throne with them. It is interesting to find the name of King Kamose so far up the Nile, and it is evident that he was not the petty prince of Thebes which he was thought to be, but was king of most of Upper Egypt, and of all Lower Nubia.

Ermênneh.

About one kilometre south of this, at a point opposite the north end of a range of hills, on the western side of the river, which runs southwards from Tôshkeḥ and Ermênneh, there is a stele dating from about the Nineteenth Dynasty. It is cut on some overhanging rocks, a few metres back from the river, and is about 1 m. 80 c. long by 1 m. 00 c. deep. Upon it one sees a male figure offering a libation to Horus of Mâåm, while behind the man stand his wife and a small male figure. The inscription commences: 'Hail to thee, shining like gold, O Horus Lord of Mâåm, King of the gods, Bull of the Cycle of the gods'; and, after further laudatory phrases, a prayer is asked for the *Ka* of 'the Commandant of the country, the Superintendent of the gold of . . ., the Royal Son of a Royal Son, the Superintendent of the Land of the south. . . .' The name of this personage is unfortunately lost. (See Plate LXVI.)

Opposite the island known as Gezîret Ermênneh there is an ancient well which is still in use, and near it there is a cemetery of Roman date. On a head of rock some eight kilometres north of Abu Simbel there are drawings of animals which are probably prehistoric, and one animal with remarkable horns is worthy of record (Plate LXVII). Four short inscriptions of the XIth–XIIIth Dynasties were noticed here, and are shown on Plate LXVII. It is to be seen here that most of the giraffes and many of the other animals drawn on the rocks in the neighbourhood are considerably more ancient, according to the discoloration of the stone, than these inscriptions; and there can be no doubt that most of these drawings are archaic.

The temples of Abu Simbel, on the west bank, must now be described.

Abu Simbel.

Situation. The great temple of Abu Simbel is situated on the east side of a fine head of sandstone rock, which comes down to the water on the west bank of the river opposite the village of Farêḳ. The smaller temple stands a few metres to the north, and faces the south-east. The temples are 60 kilometres above Anâybeh, 289 above the barrage, and 60 below Wâdy Hâlfa. In ancient times the town of Måha seems to have stood on the site now occupied by Farêḳ, and thus the Abu Simbel hills were to this town what the Kubet el Howa hills were to Aswân, or the Theban hills to Lûxor. There was a small town near the temple, called Åbshek, and the goddess Hathor, who presided over the hills here, was known as 'Hathor of Åbshek'. The selection of this site for the great temple was not a matter of chance, nor yet was it altogether due to the fact that no such suitable hills for a rock temple were to be found in the neighbourhood. Certainly as early as the Thirteenth Dynasty these rocks were considered of importance, for they had been selected by King Kakarå as one of the few places where he should inscribe his cartouche; and several officials of that date had taken the trouble to write their names there. In the temple inscriptions the site is called 'the hill of libations', and in the Eighteenth Dynasty temple of Ḥoremḥeb at Abahûdeh the same expression is used. It is possible that there was a minor cataract at this point, which would account for the temples and shrines in the neighbourhood.

History. The great temple was originally designed by Sethos I, but in its present form it is entirely the work of Rameses II. An inscription in the temple refers to the king's first year, and a stele, which was certainly placed in the temple after the completion of the internal decorations, is dated in the king's thirty-fifth year. The marriage of Rameses II with the Hittite princess, afterwards known as Maåtneferw-rå, which took place at about this date, had to be recorded outside the temple, as there was no vacant place for the stele inside. The temple, thus, was completed before the year 1359 B. C. During the reign of Sethos II the colossus on the north side of the façade of the great temple was restored; but from that time until the Greek age nothing is heard of the temple. The Greek mercenary army of Psammetichus left a record of its visit to the temple, and other Greek, Carian, and Phoenician travellers cut inscriptions on the legs of the colossi. In 1817 Belzoni entered the temple; in 1844 Lepsius copied the reliefs; and in 1869 Mariette opened up the place. More recently Captain Johnston undertook some restorations, and attempted to check the inroads of the sand by building stout walls on the north side; but this has proved unsuccessful, and the bottom of the great drift from the hills above quite covers the feet of the two northern colossi, and threatens to block the entrance once more. The importance and beauty of the temple is sufficient justification for the expenditure of £200 or so on a further effort to get rid of the sand.

Preservation. When Belzoni visited the temple the colour on the walls was said to be extremely bright, but now it is no better than in the majority of Egyptian temples. The birds and bats have greatly disfigured the walls, and it is unfortunate that wire netting was not placed over the entrance when the temple was first cleared of sand. Now, however, it is absolutely necessary that a door covered with

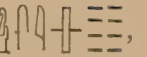
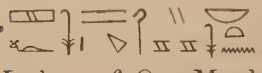
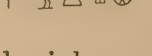
netting should close the entrance. It may be argued that this will spoil the appearance of the temple, but the preservation of the interior from damage is a more important consideration. In such vast surroundings the gate could be painted a colour which would render it almost unobservable from the outside, and certainly quite unobtrusive. But glaring daubs of white guano, and smudges of bat-droppings will be called picturesque by few.

The colossi have suffered considerable damage during their long existence. The colossus on the south side of the entrance has lost the head and shoulders, which have crashed down on to the front of the pedestal. The northernmost colossus is gradually breaking and crumbling, and requires to be strengthened with cement. A large section of the leg of one of the figures has fallen forward and should be hauled back into place. Inside the temple a section of the wall near the entrance to the great hall has cracked off and fallen forward, and it will be too difficult a matter to put it back in position again; but in other respects the hall and chambers require no restorations. At present the bats give the whole temple an offensive smell, and the innermost chambers, where there are hundreds of these creatures, are in a disgusting condition. In the autumn of 1906 the writer observed the tracks of snakes of some size in the temple each morning.

The smaller temple does not require much repair; but here, again, the birds and bats have done much damage, and the latter make the place unpleasant for the visitor. In the autumn of 1905 the tracks of monitors were observed in this temple, and the gaffir states that there are one or two crocodiles to be seen on rare occasions in summer here, though this seems impossible. Even the sentimentalist will prefer to have the temple fitted with doors, rather than to leave it as a home for offensive or dangerous creatures.

The great temple, like so many temples in Nubia, was dedicated to the worship of Rå-Harmachis. A fine statue of that god stands above the entrance, and at early morning the sun's rays strike full upon it, so that the figure appears to be stepping forward to greet the sunrise. Along the cornice a row of baboons, nearly always associated with the sun, sit in attitudes of worship. As the temple faces towards the east it is only at sunrise that the light penetrates into the sanctuary, and only then can the reliefs on the walls be distinctly seen. Thus the whole temple is designed for the one hour of sunrise. Those who visit it at dawn and pass into the vestibule and sanctuary will be amazed at the irresistible solemnity of that moment when the sun passes above the hills, and the dim halls are suddenly transformed into a brilliantly lighted temple; and though one has sickened of the eulogies of the literary traveller in Egypt, one may in this case adopt his language, and describe the hour of sunrise here as one of profound and stirring grandeur. At no other time and in no other place in Egypt does one feel the same capacity for appreciating the ancient Egyptian spirit of worship. The smaller temple was dedicated to Hathor Lady of Åbshek, but Harmachis takes a prominent place here also. Besides these the gods worshipped in the temples were Harmachis of Måha, Harmachis of Takens (Lower Nubia), Rå-Harmachis-Tum-Horus-Kheperå, Tum-Rå-Horus-Kheperå, Kheperå, Horus of Mååm, Horus of Beḥeni, Horus of Baki, Horus of Måha, Horus of Ha, Tum, Tum of On; Rå, Åmen Rå, Åmen Rå of Napata, Åmen, Åmen in Takens, Min-Åmen, Min-Maåt-Åmen, Min, Menthu of Thebes,

The Gods.

Menthu of On, Thoth, Thoth of Hermopolis, Thoth of Åmenhariâb,  , Ptaḥ, Ptaḥ of Southern Memphis, Mermutef, Mermutef of , Khonsu, Seb, Shu, Tefnut, Ânher, Anubis, Wepwat, Set of Ombos, Sebek-Râ of , Mutu,  Hershef of Heracleopolis, Khnum, Satis, Anukis Hathor of On, Menḥet, Isis, Mut, Werthekaw, Rennut,  , and Nut. Rameses himself is worshipped largely, also.

Exterior of Great Temple.

The main feature of the great temple is of course the four seated colossi, hewn out of the rock. Despite their immense size, these figures have been executed with considerable artistic skill, and do not at once exhibit any glaring faults of proportion. One's eye turns to the faces of the figures, and these are of such real beauty that the deformations of the lower parts remain quite unobserved. The expression of the faces is serene and thoughtful; the hands are laid upon the knees without extreme stiffness; and the whole motionless pose produces an effect of placid solemnity, which no figure where movement is shown could excel. On either side of the legs of each colossus there is a smaller female figure, and between the legs a male or female figure in each case is represented. On the southernmost colossus these figures represent Princess Nebttawi, Princess Bathâ-ânthât, and an unnamed princess. On the next colossus the figures are Queen Nefertâri, Prince Åmenḥerkhepshef, and the queen again. On the third colossus the figures represent the queen, Prince Rameses, and the queen again. The figures on the fourth colossus are buried in the sand. The pedestals of the two southern colossi have the king's cartouches inscribed upon their eastern sides, while on the other sides lines of negro captives are shown. These are drawn conventionally, and show no individual characteristics. On the southern pedestals figures of Asiatics of different racial types are shown. The main entrance to the temple is reached between the pedestals of the two middle colossi, and thus one passes between a row of negroes and Asiatics, the eleven latter being well worthy of study (see photographs, Plate LXXIII). On the sides of the thrones of the colossi, which one also sees while going towards the temple doorway, there are conventional representations of the uniting of Upper and Lower Egypt. Around the doorway there are the king's cartouches, figures of numerous gods, all unnamed, and representations of the king dancing before Amen Râ and Mut, and before Harmachis and Werthekaw. High above the doorway, and forming one of the principal features of the façade, there is a fine full-faced statue of the hawk-headed Harmachis, stepping forward from a shallow recess. On the one side of him is the jackal-headed staff, *wser*, and on the other a damaged figure of *maât*; and thus, taking the figure of Harmachis to represent Râ, one obtains the king's name Râ-wser-maât in statuary. Reliefs on either side of the recess show the king worshipping Harmachis. The façade is topped by a row of twenty-two cynocephali, or baboons, some of which are destroyed; and below these there is a decoration made up of the king's cartouches and uraei.

Before entering the temple it will be best to describe the steles which are found on the south side of the façade. The space between the southern colossus and the end wall has been partitioned off by a stone wall, and at the end of the

enclosure so formed there is a large stele with twenty-three lines of horizontal inscription. At the top of the stele King Rameses II is represented worshipping Åmen Rå, Harmachis, and Horus of . The inscription relates to the king's conquests in Asia and Kush. A small stele in the south wall of the enclosure shows the figure of Åmen worshipped by the Viceroy of Ethiopia, Sethos, who states that he was the king's envoy into all foreign lands, and who writes the inscription in the first year of the reign of . Just outside this little enclosure, on the south wall of the façade, there is the great stele recording the marriage of Rameses II with the Hittite princess in the thirty-fourth year of his reign. The inscription is written in forty horizontal lines, and above it the king is shown seated beneath a canopy between two gods, while King Khetasar of the Hittites, accompanied by the king of Kode, brings his daughter forward.

On the left leg of the headless colossus there is a Greek inscription of considerable interest. It reads, 'When King Psammetichus came to Elephantine the companions of Psammetichus, son of Theokles, wrote this. They came by ship via Kerkis to where the river rises, Potasimto leading the foreigners and Amasis the Egyptians. Demerarchon son of Amoibichos, and Pelekos son of Udamos, wrote.' Kerkis is perhaps to be identified with the modern Kirsh, opposite Gerf Ḥusên. The name Potasimto has been thought to be the Egyptian Pedesamtawi; but the whole reading of this sentence is questionable. In a Phoenician inscription near by one of the mercenaries mentions a general named Horus. There are several other Greek graffiti, a Teian, a Kolophonian, and an Ialysian from Rhodes being amongst the writers of the earlier period.

The great hall of the temple is now entered. On the sides of the doorway, as one passes in, the cartouches of the king are seen, and he is said to be beloved of Harmachis, Åmen, and Tum. The north side is damaged, but there have been six lines of inscription mentioning Menthu, Tum, Khonsu, Mut, Harmachis, and Åmen Rå in connexion with the cartouches of the king. On the south side the king is represented offering to Åmen Rå. The hall has for its main feature two rows of four pillars, against the front sides of which stand colossal figures of the king. The most perfect of these figures is the last on the north side, the face of which as seen in profile is the most striking feature of the whole temple interior. It is most unfortunate that the guano of birds has been allowed to collect on the heads of these figures; and here again one realizes how much more necessary it is, from the artistic as well as from the archaeological point of view, to preserve the interior of the temple, than to leave the doorway ungated for fear of lessening the beauty of the façade. The inscriptions at the sides of the colossi give the king's cartouches, and he is said to be beloved of Åmen Rå, Harmachis, Horus of Mååm, Horus of Beḥeni, Khonsu of Thebes, Menthu of Thebes, Ptaḥ, Tum of On, Thoth of Hermopolis, Min-Åmen, and Isis. On the pillars at the back of these colossi are reliefs showing the king in the presence of Åmen Rå, Harmachis, Ptaḥ, Horus of Baki, Horus of Mååm, Horus of Maḥa, Tum of On, Thoth of Hermopolis, Anher, Menthu of Thebes, Sebek-Rå of , the ram-headed Mermutef of ,

'Usermââ-setepnrâ in the temple of Rameses' hawk-headed, Khnum of Elephantine, Min-Âmen, Hathor of Âbshek, Hathor of On, Hathor of Thebes, Menḥet, Anukis, Satis, Werthekaw, and Isis.

Around the inner face of the doorway there are eight panels, showing the king before Min-Âmen, Ptaḥ, Tum of On, Âmen Râ, Ptaḥ, Harmachis, Âmen Râ with Mut, and Harmachis with Sekhmet. On the north end of the east wall the king is seen smiting a group of Asiatics, in the presence of Harmachis. The vulture hovers over the king's head, and behind him there is the standard giving his *Ka*-names. Below this scene nine of the king's daughters are shown: Bathâ-ânthât, Bakmut, Nefertâri, Âmenmeri, Nebttawi, Isis-nefert, Hemttawi, Wernure, and Nezemmut. In the corner, below the reliefs, there is an isolated inscription stating that this inscription, or perhaps the whole series of reliefs, was 'made by the sculptor of Rameses-Meriâmen Piâay son of Khânefer'. On the south end of the east wall the king is again seen smiting a group of prisoners, this time in the presence of Âmen Râ. Below are eight of the king's sons: Âmenḥerkhepshef, Rameses, Parâherunmif, Khâmwast, Menthuḥerkhepshef, Nebenkhâr, Meriâmen, and Setyemwâ. The north wall of the hall is covered with historical scenes of considerable interest, though one has become familiar with the main incidents in the temples at Thebes. The scenes represent the great battle of Kadesh, and the stirring incidents which led to the Egyptians' ultimate defeat of the Hittites. The battle took place at the end of April in the year 1388 B.C., i.e. the fifth year of the king's reign, when he was still a young man. Rameses had invaded the Hittite country and was advancing with his army to lay siege to Kadesh when the battle took place. When still some miles from the city the Egyptians had captured two spies, who said they were deserters from the Hittite army, and stated that the enemy had retreated behind Kadesh. Rameses, therefore, very rashly pushed on to attack the city at once; and the first scene in the lower half of this wall shows his line of march. Meanwhile the Hittite king was in ambush; and, as soon as Rameses had got out of touch with the main Egyptian army, he made a détour and pushed in between the two Egyptian divisions, thus completely isolating Rameses, who had now pitched his camp. The scene represented on the wall, between the two doors, shows the camp, surrounded by a stockade, formed of the soldiers' shields. Horses are being fed, soldiers are seen resting, and the whole appearance of the camp shows how entirely unaware of their danger were the Egyptians. Rameses now requestioned the captured spies, and ordered them to be flogged—an incident here represented. He then learnt his true position, and the reliefs show the council of war which was then held, the king seated upon his throne surrounded by his officers. Soon after this the Hittites attacked the camp, and Rameses was obliged to cut his way through them almost single-handed. This scene is in the upper half of the reliefs, and is drawn with much spirit. It was not long after this that the main Egyptian army arrived, and the Hittites were driven off, some being drowned in crossing the river to Kadesh. In these reliefs one sees the town of Kadesh situated on the hill, with the Orontes running round it, and the Hittites are shown retreating on to it. The final scene shows Rameses with his officers counting the prisoners, and the hands cut from the dead.

At the north end of the west wall the king is seen leading prisoners to

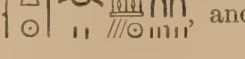
Harmachis, Rameses, and ; and at the south end of this wall the king leads his prisoners before Åmen Rå, Rameses, and Mut. At the sides of the doorway in this wall leading to the vestibule the king is seen in the presence of Ptaḥ, Harmachis, Åmen Rå, and Min. Above the door the king dances before Åmen Rå and Mut, and before Harmachis and Sekhmet (?). The south wall is divided into two rows. In the upper row the king is seen before the ram-headed Mermutef and a lion-headed goddess; he offers stacks of grain to Åmen Rå; he burns incense before Ptaḥ; Neith numbers his years; he kneels beneath the sacred tree while Thoth and Horus are by him; and finally he worships Åmen Rå, from whose throne a large uraeus rises. In the lower row Rameses is seen in his chariot shooting arrows at the defenders of a fortress which stands on a hill. From the walls the slain are seen falling, while others kneel in supplication, and one man is shown driving the cattle to a place of safety. Behind the king are chariots containing his three sons, Åmenḥerkhepshef, Rameses, and Paråḥerunmif. The inscription here praises the king's bravery and strength, and describes how he overthrows the rebels on their hills and in their valleys. The king is next seen leaping over a fallen Asiatic, and thrusting his spear through another. The inscription states that the king destroys the tribes of the Nine Bows; devastates the lands of the north; transports the negroes to the north and the northerners to Nubia, the people of the Shasu to . . . . . and the people of Tehen to the mountains; and that he brings for the temple the plunder from Syria and Retennu. A third relief shows the king driving slowly in his chariot, with his lion by his side; while one of the officers leads two lines of captives before him, the upper line consisting of black negroes and the lower line of brown Nubians. The horse which draws the chariot is named 'Victorious in Thebes'. The inscription accompanying this scene speaks of the king as overawing the people of Wawat and of Retennu. On the architraves in this hall the king is said to have made this temple for his father 'Harmachis the great god Lord of Takens'; and for his father 'Åmen Rå, king of the gods'. These latter words are superinscribed over the words which can still be seen. Between the third and fourth colossus on the south side of the hall a large stele has been set up, the inscription on which, dated in the thirty-fifth year of the king's reign, refers to the building of a temple at Memphis dedicated to Ptaḥ. The ceiling of the hall is decorated with the usual design of vultures and cartouches.

From the north side of the hall two chambers lead off. In the first room only the west wall is decorated with reliefs, and here one sees the king in the presence of Åmen Rå, Harmachis, Rameses, Horus of Beḥeni, Horus of Mååm, and Horus of Baki. In the second room, on the west side of the south wall the king stands before Hathor of Åbshek. On the west wall he stands before Thoth, Rameses human-headed, Rameses hawk-headed, Khonsu, Ptaḥ, Rameses ram-headed, and Harmachis. On the north wall he is seen before Åmen Rå twice. On the east wall he stands before Harmachis, Horus of Mååm, Horus of Baki, Horus of Beḥeni, Tum, Shepses-in-Hermopolis, and Thoth. On the east end of the south wall the king is in the presence of a god whose name is lost.

From the north side of the west wall a chamber leads off. On its south

wall the king is seen before the ithyphallic Åmen Rå and Isis; before Åmen Rå, Mut, and Khonsu; and before Tum of On. On the west wall he stands before Harmachis and Åmen Rå. On the north wall he is in the presence of Menthu of Thebes, the hawk-headed Rameses, and a Rameses with the head now destroyed. Two doors lead through this wall into two further chambers. In the first of these chambers, on the west wall, is a figure of Isis; after which the king is seen offering cattle to Mutu; and standing before Kheperå, Khonsu, Wepwat, and Åmen Rå. On the north wall he is twice shown before Harmachis. On the east wall he is seen before Ptaḥ, Thoth, Menthu, Mut, Harmachis, and Thoth. On the south wall the scene is lost. In the second room the king is seen, on the south wall, before Rameses. On the west wall he is shown before Harmachis, Ptaḥ, Sekhmet, Anubis, and Rameses. On the north wall he stands before Harmachis and Åmen Rå. On the east wall he is seen before Menthu, Rameses, Åmen Rå, Isis, and Thoth.

From the south side of the west wall of the hall a corresponding set of rooms is entered. On the east wall of the room first entered the king is seen before Åmen Rå. On the north wall he stands before Rameses, Min-Åmen, Isis, and Ptaḥ. On the west wall the king is presented by Thoth to Harmachis, and by another god to Åmen Rå. On the south wall the king is seen before Rameses. Two doors in this wall lead into the other two chambers. In the first of these, on the north wall, the king stands before Rameses. In the east wall there are six niches between which are the king's cartouches, while above them is an inscription stating that the king constructed 'this monument for his father Åmen in Takens, and made for him great treasuries, and colossi in the court, of good white stone'. In the south wall are two more niches. On the west wall the king is seen before Ptaḥ, Menthu of Thebes and On, Thoth, Åmen Rå, Åmen, Min-Åmen, and Harmachis. In the second room, on the east wall the king is shown in the presence of Tum-Rå-Horus-Kheperå, Isis, Åmen Rå, and Harmachis. On the south wall he is before Harmachis and Rameses. On the west wall he is represented before Åmen Rå, Rå, Thoth, Harmachis, and two other gods whose names are now obliterated. On the north wall he is seen before Åmen Rå.

Passing up the axis of the great hall and through the doorway in the west wall one enters the vestibule, the roof of which is supported by four square pillars. On these pillars the reliefs show the king embraced by Horus; embraced by a goddess; in the presence of Mut; before Isis; before Menthu; before Rameses; embraced by Anukis, the king having here a hawk's head; embraced by Satis; by Werthekaw; by Horus; by Åmen Rå; by Mut; by Isis; and by Horus of Ha. On the north end of the east wall the king is seen offering to Min-Åmen, Rameses, and Isis. On the north wall the king with the queen behind him offers to the sacred boat borne on the shoulders of priests. On the north end of the west wall the king is seen with Harmachis. On the south end of the west wall the king worships Åmen Rå. On the south wall the king and queen offer to the sacred boat carried by priests. On the south end of the east wall the king worships Åmen Rå, Rameses, and Mut. On the south side of the doorway leading from the hall to the vestibule the king is shown before Harmachis, and below this scene there is a much damaged inscription, dated  , and giving the car-

touche of Rameses II; but only the beginning of five of the lines can be made out. Down the sides of the doorway leading into the adytum there are four small panels showing the king worshipping Thoth, Khonsu, Harmachis, and Ptaḥ. Above the doorway there are the figures of Åmen Rå, Mut, and Khonsu and another Trinity which is difficult to make out.

The adytum is now entered. On the north end of the east wall the king is represented offering to Tum of On; and on the south end of this wall he offers to Min Åmen. On the north wall he worships Thoth; and, on the south wall, Åmen Rå. On the north end of the west wall he offers to Ptaḥ; and, on the south end of this wall, to Åmen Rå. On the sides of the doorways leading from the vestibule to the adytum the king is seen with Thoth, Horus, Åmen Rå, and Rå. From the west wall of the adytum three doorways lead, those on either side opening into small uninscribed chambers, and that in the middle passing into the sanctuary.

The main feature of the sanctuary is the row of four seated statues at its west end. These figures represent Ptaḥ, Åmen, Rameses, and Harmachis. They are badly executed, and one of the shoulders of the figure of Rameses is higher than the other; but when, at sunrise, the shaft of light strikes full upon them, even these statues become impressive and fraught with dignity. On either side of the doorway there is a figure of the king with arm extended, and the accompanying inscription reads 'Enter into the sanctuary thrice purified'. On the north wall the king burns incense and offers a libation before the sacred boat; and here he is also seen adoring Rå. On the south wall he is seen before the sacred boat, and worshipping Min-Maåt-Åmen. In the centre of the room there is a broken and uninscribed altar. It should be mentioned that the pedestal of the statue standing in the vestibule was made by Paser.

The smaller temple.

A pathway leads from the great temple to the smaller temple along the water's edge. In summer, when the water is high, it passes under the trees and one is obliged to break one's way through the thorny branches; but in winter it lies nearer the water in open ground. The temple is not easily entered, for the doorway is high above the path, and the original stairway leading up to it is lost. A flight of iron steps should be fixed here, as the floods would destroy any stone construction built on the mud. The façade of the temple, although not so large as that of the great temple, is imposing. Three standing colossi on either side of the doorway form the main feature. These rise from recesses divided from one another by projecting buttresses. Four of the colossi represent the king and two the Queen Nefertâri; and at the sides of each are two small figures, those in the case of the king's colossi being sons, and those in the case of the queen's being daughters. Down each of the buttresses runs an inscription. The three on the south side of the doorway give the cartouches of the king beloved of Åmen, and of the queen beloved of . The first on the north side states that the king 'made this temple in [the form of] an excavation in the hill as an eternal work in the land of Takens'. The second inscription gives the cartouches of the king and queen; and the third states that 'His Majesty commanded a temple to

be made in the land of Takens in [the form of] an excavation in the hill: nothing like it had been made before'.

Entering the temple one sees on the south side of the doorway the king before Hathor of Åbshek; and on the north the queen before Isis. On each side of the doorway are the cartouches of the king and queen, the latter being called 'beloved of Hathor and Isis', and the former 'beloved of Thoth and Åmen Rå. One now stands in a large low hall, the roof being supported by six columns, down the front of which are Hathor totems. On the north end of the west wall a relief shows the king slaying a captive before Harmachis of Måha, while behind the king is the queen. On the south end of the west wall the king slays a negro before Åmen Rå; while the queen again appears behind. On the north wall the king is seen before Ptaḥ; he worships the ram-headed Ḥershef of Heracleopolis; the queen stands before Hathor of On; and the king adores Rå-Harmachis. On the south wall the king stands before Hathor of Åbshek; he stands between Set of Nubt and Horus of Måha; the queen worships Anukis; and the king adores Åmen Rå. On the west wall the queen is shown before Hathor of Åbshek, and before Mut. In this west wall there are three doorways leading into the vestibule. The south and north doors have above them the king's and queen's cartouches, while down the sides are the king's cartouches alone. The middle door, to which three steps lead, has the king's cartouches above it, while a figure of him is represented on either side. The Hathor pillars have on their front sides the cartouches of the king and queen beloved of Åmen Rå, Ptaḥ, Tum, Rå-Harmachis, Hathor, Anukis, Werthekaw, Isis, and Satis; the goddesses referring to the queen and the gods to the king. On the other sides of the pillars are figures of the king, the queen, Horus of Beḥeni, Horus of Mååm, Horus of Baki, Thoth, Khonsu, Khnum, Hathor, Satis, Isis, and Werthekaw. The figures of the queen are represented on the east side of the first two pillars, as well as elsewhere, and she thus has the most prominent position. On the architrave the queen is said to have 'made the temple in the hill of Libations'. This inscription, together with the queen's colossi and prominent reliefs, show that this temple was dedicated by her to Hathor just as the great temple was dedicated by the king to Harmachis.

The vestibule is now entered. On the north end of the east wall the king and queen are seen before Hathor; and the doorway here is inscribed with the queen's cartouches. On the south end of the east wall the queen is shown between Hathor of Åbshek and Isis; and the doorway here also has the queen's cartouches upon it. On the north and south walls the king worships the Hathor cow, which stands in a boat amidst the reeds. There is a doorway in each of these walls leading into a small uninscribed chamber; and around the doorway are the king's cartouches. On the north end of the west wall there is a large relief of the king before Harmachis, and a smaller relief of the queen before Khnum, Satis, and Anukis. On the south end of the west wall the large relief represents the king before Åmen Rå, and the smaller one shows the king in the presence of Horus of Mååm, Horus of Baki, and Horus of Beḥeni. In the middle of this wall is a doorway leading into the sanctuary,

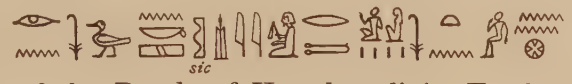
and on either side is a figure of the king, while above it are small figures of the king and queen before Hathor.

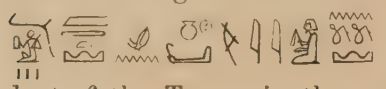
The sanctuary is a small chamber having in the west wall a full-faced cow in high relief, and under its head the figure of a man, probably the king. On either side is a Hathor totem, and on the south side of this the king is seen worshipping. The cow and figure are much damaged. On the south wall the queen is represented in the presence of Mut and Hathor. On the north wall the king stands before the seated figures of himself and the queen. On either side of the doorway is a figure of Hapi, and over the door are the cartouches of the queen.

The Chapel.

A few spaces to the south of the great temple there is a small rock chamber which was probably used as a chapel for the lesser ceremonies. On either side of the doorway there is a figure of the king with the accompanying inscription, 'Enter into the temple four times purified.' On the north wall the king is seen burning incense before the sacred boat of Åmen Rå; and on the south wall before the sacred boat of 'Thoth Lord of Hermopolis within Åmenḥeriåb.' On the west wall the king stands before Rå-Harmachis-Tum-Horus-Kheperå in the form of one god, and before Åmen Rå of Napata. Above these scenes there is a frieze of cartouches alternating with small seated figures of the following gods: Khnum, Satis, Anukis, Horus of Baki, Horus of Mååm, Horus of Beḥeni, Thoth, Hathor, Isis, Åmen-Rå-wser-mååt, Åmen, and Werthekaw on the one side, and on the other Set of Nubt, Osiris, Nut, Seb, Tefnut, Shu, Tum, Rå, Khonsu, Mut, and Åmen. The roof is decorated with the usual vultures and cartouches. The colour is good in this chamber, as it has not been so long open to the air, it having been discovered in 1874 by Miss Amelia Edwards and her party. In front of this rock chamber there was originally a pronaos constructed of brick or stone which has now disappeared, though the plan is given in Miss Edwards' *Thousand Miles up the Nile*.

Steles and Inscriptions.

North of the smaller temple there are various inscriptions and steles. One first sees a figure of a Viceroy of Ethiopia bowing to Rameses II, with the inscription  'Made by the Viceroy of Kush, Åny of the People of Heracleopolis'. Further on is a large stele of an official bowing to Rameses II, but this is inaccessible without a ladder. Further northwards there is a damaged stele showing a man bowing before Åmen Rå, Rameses, Harmachis, and Horus; and near it another figure bows before Horus of . High up on the rocks is a large well-cut inscription reading , 'Made by the Scribe of the Temple, the Father-in-law of the king, Superintendent of the Cattle, Prince, High Priest, Åhmose, called Ture.' Three other small graffiti on the rocks shown on Plate LXVII, are of the Middle Empire, and give the characteristic names Sebekḥotep and Menthuḥotep. South of the great temple is a group of three large steles. The first shows a Viceroy of Ethiopia worshipping Rameses II; the second shows the king before Thoth, Harmachis, and Shepses,

while below is a figure of an official; and the third shows Rameses and the queen before Âmen Râ, Rameses, and Harmachis, while below is a figure of a certain Nekhtw before the queen. Beyond these, and only to be seen from the water, are three large steles of Rameses II. Near this is the inscription  'Made by the Scribe of the Treasury, Superintendent of the Troops in the country, the governor, Mery, of the Land of Wawat'. Two small steles are next seen. Just round the corner of the rock, at the point where the next bay of land commences, there is an almost obliterated inscription of the unplaced King Kakarâ, reading .

From Abu Simbel to Adendân: West Bank.

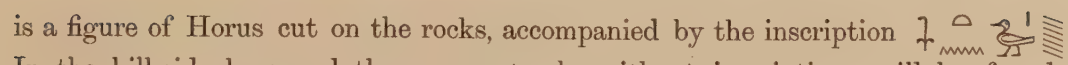
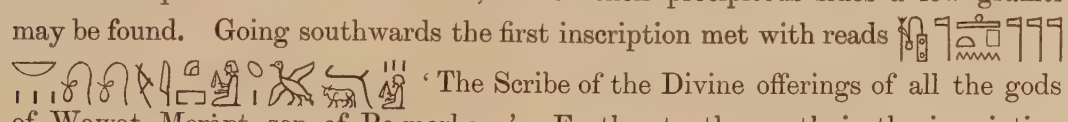
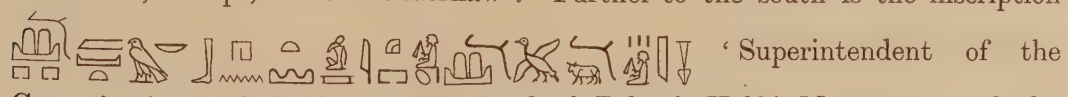
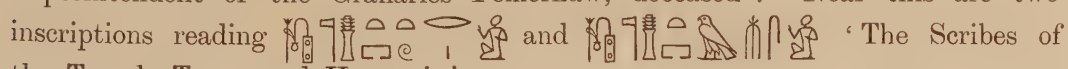
The great head of rock in the east side of which the temple of Abu Simbel is excavated, is followed immediately by a second head, a small sandy bay lying between them. On the south side of this second hill a small tomb is excavated, consisting of a rough chamber with a shaft in the floor leading down into the burial chamber. Outside the entrance there is a small stele, upon which two figures are shown before Osiris, but the inscription is too much damaged to read. The tomb probably dates from the late Ramesside period. In the valley which lies to the south there is a plundered cemetery of Graeco-Roman date. Half a kilometre further on there is another cemetery of the same date. The country on this bank now becomes un-Egyptian, and reminds one more of the desert borderlands in North Africa. Behind the palms at the river's edge, amidst which the houses of Ballânyeh stand, the surface of the desert is covered with blown sand in which clumps of desert plants grow. Here and there are humps and ridges of sand covered with scrub, while between them small forests of *sunt*-trees or groups of tamarisks give pleasant shade to the traveller. Behind the village of Ballânyeh there are some traces of ruined buildings of the Ptolemaic age. Further southward the desert becomes flatter, and after a few kilometres the low hills come down to the water again. To the archaeologist the country here is uninteresting, and the writer found no traces of any ancient sites, except where a few Roman or mediaeval fragments of pottery indicated the existence of villages of that time. Presently the large island of Adendân is passed, with the village of that name upon it; and about a kilometre to the south a ridge of sand, upon which stands a wooden signboard, marks the frontier between Egypt and the Sudân.

Ballânyeh.

From Abu Simbel to Adendân: East Bank.

Farêḳ.

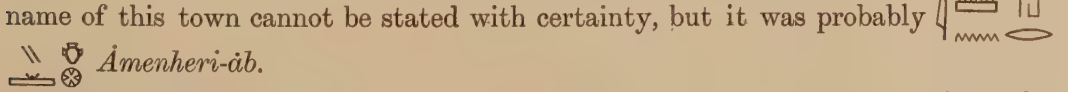
Opposite the temples of Abu Simbel stands the village of Farêḳ, which extends for some distance along the edge of the river. On the rocks a trifle south of the temples there is an inscription in rough hieratic, in which the only easily readable word is , which must be a spelling of Wawat. In an open bay about half a kilometre south of the temples there is an extensive cemetery of 'Pan graves, from which some fragments of pottery were collected. The cemetery has been plundered, but not in very recent years. South of this there

is a figure of Horus cut on the rocks, accompanied by the inscription  In the hill-side here and there some tombs without inscriptions will be found. Two of these consist of two chambers, and two others have wells leading down to the sepulchral chambers ; but they are all rough and of no interest. The rocks now come quite down to the water, and on their precipitous sides a few graffiti may be found. Going southwards the first inscription met with reads  'The Scribe of the Divine offerings of all the gods of Wawat, Meràpt, son of Pe-merkaw'. Further to the south is the inscription  'Superintendent of the Granaries in the Hill (?) of Horus Lord of Beḥeni (Ḥâlfa) Meràpt, son of the Superintendent of the Granaries Pemerkaw, deceased'. Near this are two inscriptions reading and  'The Scribes of the Temple Tewre and Ḥormosis'.

Abahûdeh Temple.

A few metres further southward, in a head of rock which rises from the water, there is excavated a small temple which dates from the reign of King Horemḥeb of the Eighteenth Dynasty. From the outside nothing can be seen of the temple except the narrow slit in the hill-side which is its doorway. The steps which originally led up to the doorway have now crumbled away, and it is something of a climb to reach the entrance. The temple is excavated in the west face of the rock, and consists of a hall, the roof of which is supported by four pillars with clustered capitals ; two chambers leading off the hall ; and a sanctuary, in the floor of which a shaft leads down into a crypt. Around the hall a bench or step runs, less than half a metre high. The reliefs are executed in good style, but have been entirely covered by Coptic paintings of mediaeval date, which have fallen off only in parts. These paintings are extremely interesting, and should be copied in colour by a trained artist before they are lost. Much of the plaster seems to have been intentionally scraped off by early antiquarians in order to expose the reliefs below ; but fortunately the archaeologists who destroy the less ancient remains in their search for the work of earlier periods have become more rare now that archaeology has been placed on a scientific basis. The traveller who desires to write his name on temple walls, however, is still with us, as is the native thief also ; and this temple must therefore have an iron gate placed at the entrance.

History.

In this neighbourhood the reader will have seen that there are tombs probably dating from the New Empire, cemeteries of 'Pan'-graves of the Middle Kingdom, graffiti of the Thirteenth Dynasty and of the New Empire, the cartouche of the Middle Kingdom king Ḳakarâ ; and presently he will find steles of the Eighteenth Dynasty, and inscriptions of the Ramesside period. It seems certain, therefore, that there was a large town near here of sufficient importance to induce Horemḥeb to honour it with his only Nubian shrine and Rameses with his greatest temple. The name of this town cannot be stated with certainty, but it was probably  *Âmenheri-âb.*

Description of Temple.

In describing this temple it will be best to record the original reliefs on the

walls, and afterwards to give some account of the Coptic paintings. On the north side of the doorway there is a damaged figure of Horemḥeb with six lines of almost unreadable inscription by his side. Below are three lines of a later graffito, shown in the photograph on Plate LXXIII. On the south end of the west wall the king is seen before Thoth; and on the north end of this wall he is shown suckled by Anukis in Àmenheri-àb, in the presence of Khnum in Peduàbi. On the south wall most of the reliefs are hidden, but at the east end there is a figure of the king before Àmen. In this wall is a doorway leading into an uninscribed chamber, and around it are the cartouches of Horemḥeb, beloved of Àmen, Àmen Rå, and Thoth. On the north wall at the west end the king is seen adoring Thoth of Hermopolis, Horus of Màåm, Horus of Beḥeni, and Horus of Måha; while at the east end the king is shown between Set of Nubt (Neḳâdeh) who is called Lord of the South Land, and Horus. Around the doorway in this wall, which leads into another uninscribed chamber, are the cartouches of the king beloved of Àmen Rå. On the north end of the east wall the king is represented before Àmen Rå, and on the south end before Harmachis. The steps lead up to the door into the sanctuary. On the inner sides of the doorway there are figures of Hapi. On the north wall the king is seen worshipping the sacred boat; but on the south and east walls the reliefs are hidden. The shaft in the floor is some three metres in depth, and at the bottom a chamber leads off to the east; but this is now filled with débris. In the north and south walls of the sanctuary the Copts have cut a small niche.

The Coptic paintings.

The Coptic paintings are extremely fresh as to their colour, but are much damaged by intentional scraping and cutting, and some of the following descriptions may be incorrect. Over the doorway is a head of Christ or a saint enclosed in a circle ornamented with flowers. On the ceiling of the hall there is the figure of a saint wearing a white garment, over which is a red robe, and holding in his left hand a staff tipped with a cross. The right hand is raised above his head, holding a crown studded with jewels. On this ceiling there is also a figure of Christ, clothed in a brown or dark red robe. His hair is brown and his beard red-brown. His right hand is raised in benediction, the two first fingers being raised, and the thumb, the third, and the fourth finger being bent. The architraves and pillars are decorated with various Coptic patterns. On either side of the doorway there is an angel holding a staff and globe or musical instrument, and clothed in brown and yellow. On the north end of the west wall there is a much damaged figure of an angel, with long yellow wings, clothed in a red and white garment. On the west end of the north wall there is a large painting of a prancing horse, with an almost invisible rider, and near by there is a standing figure. Another horse is then seen, upon which is a rider, and having rich trappings. A tall seated figure with a red and yellow crown is next represented. On the west end of the wall there was evidently a picture of some importance, but it is almost entirely lost. On the north side of the east wall there are two large figures of saints or apostles clad in purple robes; and on the south half there are again two large standing figures, one clad in yellow, the other in red. On the west end of the south wall there is a large figure of an angel with widely spread wings; and a large horse with rich trappings, and having upon it a rider—depicted with much flying drapery, and wearing a crown studded with blue stones—who is thrusting

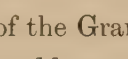
downwards with a long spear at a dragon. Above the horse's head there is a circle enclosing the head of God or an angel. On the east end of the south wall there is a horse and rider, much damaged. On the south end of the west wall there is again a figure mounted on a horse, and spearing a dragon. On the south wall of the sanctuary there is an inscription written in Greek characters, in an unknown language. A similar inscription at Ḳaṣr Ibrîm has already been recorded.

The Fortress of Addeh.

Four or five kilometres to the south of the Temple of Abahûdeh there rises an isolated hill, the northern and western sides of which descend precipitously to the water. Upon this hill stand the ruins of a mediaeval fortress, the ascent to which is best made on the southern side. The buildings cover all the top and part of the sides of the hill, and portions of the walls of defence can be seen, especially on the north side. There are many rooms and passages to be discerned, the walls being built either of crude brick or of broken stones. The hill is littered with fragments of pottery, all of which are to be dated to a period after the Roman occupation. The ware is coarse and is not unlike that used at the present day in Nubia. There are few fragments that can be called Roman, and in this the fortress is unlike those at Sâbagûra and elsewhere, where Byzantine-Roman forms are common. A remarkable feature of the pottery at Addeh is its similarity to 'Pan-grave' pottery; but this complicated question is referred to in the section on the 'Pan-graves.'

The Rock Inscriptions at Addeh.

The view from the hill is very fine. In the river below lies the island of Shatani; to the north one obtains a wonderful prospect of the Nile; and to the south neighbouring hills rise in a series of rugged peaks. The nearest hill, with a curious double peak, is not more than three-quarters of a kilometre distant, and its western side slopes precipitously down to the river. The hill is called Gebel Es-Shemsh 'The hill of the sun', perhaps a translation of its ancient name. A few metres above the water a small shrine and some inscriptions will be observed, but they are somewhat difficult of access, and the archaeologist who is not accustomed to climbing might find his attempt to reach them terminated by a fall into the river. The shrine is a small chamber about one and a half metres deep and two metres broad, a large part of which is occupied by a damaged seated statue of a divinity which has had a disk and horns upon the head. Around the walls are reliefs and inscriptions referring to Prince Paser, who is here entitled Governor of Ethiopia, and 'Superintendent of the Country of the Gold of Åmen'. On the south side of the doorway appears the unreadable cartouche of the king. On the north and south walls, Paser is seated while his relatives pay him homage; and on the east wall he worships the above-mentioned statue. Just to the north of this shrine there is a little stele, upon which two figures are shown worshipping Anukis of Åmenheri-åb, dedicated by an official of Wawat named Ḥor. To the north of this again there is a stele showing in the top register a king adoring Åmen Rå, Harmachis, Ptaḥ, Satis, and two forms of Horus. The cartouche of this king is now practically unreadable, but some copyists have read it as that of king Åy of the Eighteenth Dynasty. In the lower register the Governor of Ethiopia Paser kneels before Anubis, Sebek-Rå, King Sesostris I, and Anukis. The cartouche of the deified king perhaps reads Rå-Kheper-Ka instead of Rå-Khå-Ka[u],

Sesostris III, as has been generally stated. In the inscriptions Horus of *Måha* is invoked. South of the shrine of Paser there is an inscription made by 'the Scribe of the Treasury of the Lord of the Two Lands in Takens, the Superintendent of the Granary of Wawat,  Kaza, son of Thoutmosis', and referring to the goddesses Werthekaw and Anukis of Åmenheri-åb.

In the bay between the fortress and this hill there stand a large number of small domed tombs constructed of crude brick, and dating from the Middle Ages; though whether they are Christian or Muhammedan is a matter of doubt. The road to Hâlfa runs inland here behind the hill on which the inscriptions are cut, and, amidst the rocky valleys and promontories around it, one expected to find more graffiti; but a prolonged search proved fruitless in this respect. Shortly after this the hills recede from the river, and the bank becomes flat and uninteresting. There are no ancient sites here. The palms border the river, and behind them the rocky desert shelves back, leaving little space for cemeteries, and having no smooth faces of rock on which one might look for graffiti or even drawings of animals. The last houses of Adendân being passed the frontier is reached. Beyond it one can see on the east and west banks the imposing ruins of Coptic monasteries or mediaeval fortresses, and the mounds which mark the site of the ancient Phthuris; and in the guide-books one reads that a temple of Rameses II lies not many kilometres up stream. Wâdy Ḥâlfa, with its ruins of Beḥeni, is no more than forty kilometres to the south; and it is thus with a feeling that one's task is unfinished and incomplete, that one turns northwards to begin the journey down the river.

PLATES

Tôshkeḥ. Fragments of Pot, of black polished ware; pattern incised; coloured in red and yellow. Full size.

ʿAmâda. Cemetery 2. Thin, delicate ware, black-mouthed, coloured in red paint. Half size.

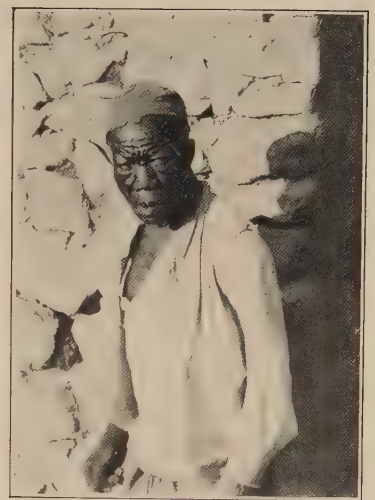
1. Shellâl Station.

2. Natives on river bank near Korôsko.

3. Natives on river bank near Korôsko.

4. Natives on river bank near Koshtâmneh.

1. Native Boat.



2. Nubian Negro.

3. Nubian Sheep.

A. E. P. W.

4. Women and Girls at Dakkeh.

1.

Native Boats.

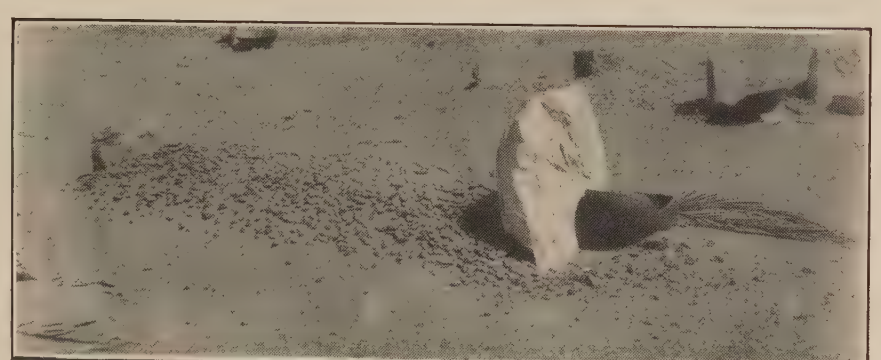
2.

3. Water-wheel.

4. Water-wheel.

1. Water-wheel.

4. Nubian Huts and Earthen Bins for storing grain.



2.

3.

Modern Graves, with Waterpots at the head.

1.

2.

3.

4.

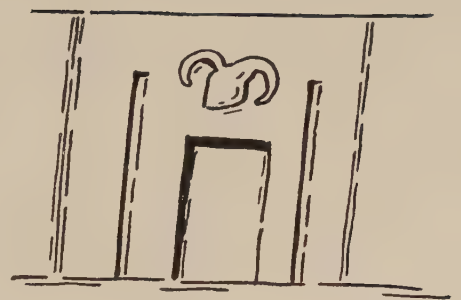
Types of Nubian houses.

1. Part of Village of Dakkeh.

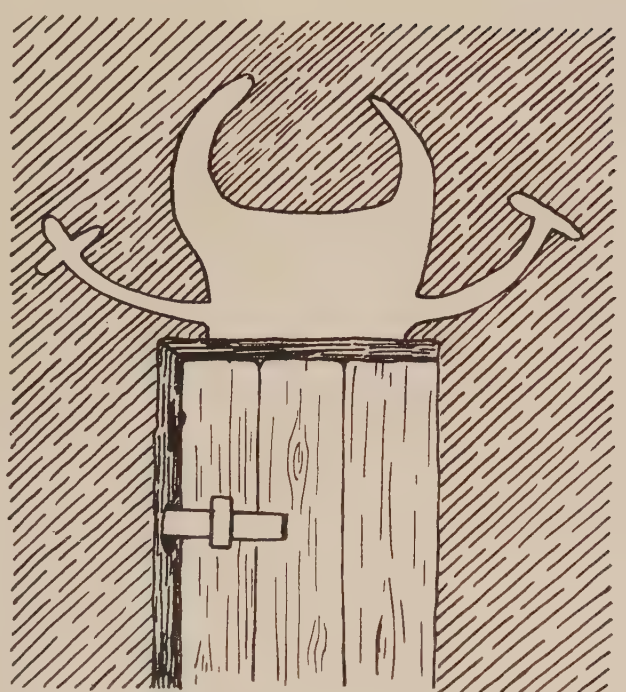
2. Near Es Sebûʿa.

3. Near Gerf Ḥusên in winter.

4. Near Dendûr.



Archaic carving, showing door of house
with ram's skull above it.
(Hieraconpolis I, XIV.)



Simple form of design in whitewash over door of house.
Ḳûrteh.

Complicated form of design in whitewash over door of house.
Ḳubbân.

1. Houses at Ḳubbân.

2. Mosque near Ḳorôsko.

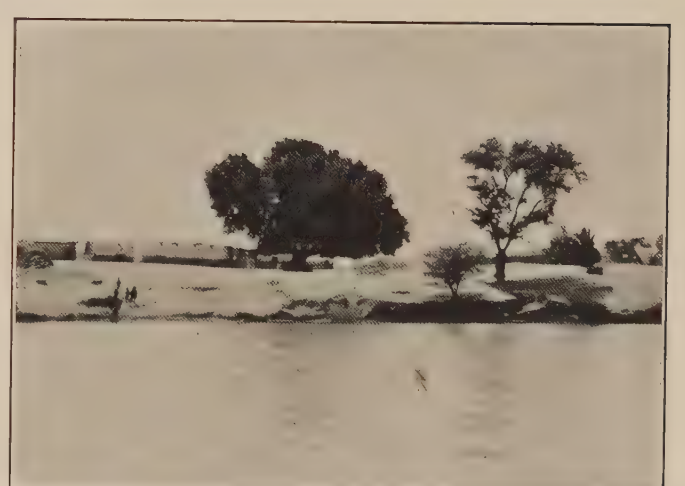
3. Village and Palms of Ḳûrteh.

4. Palms of Ḳûrteh.

1. West bank near Gebel Addeh.

2. Near Tomâs.

3. Near Gebel Addeh.



4. Dakkeh.

1. Durra field near Tomâs.

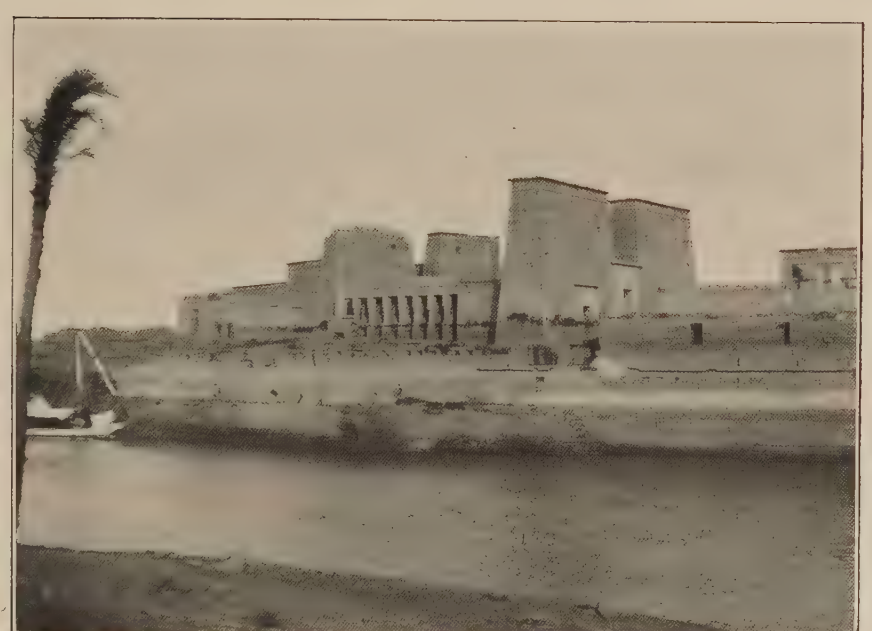
2. Near Abû Hôr.

3. Near Koshtâmneh: Evening.

4. High Water near Kalâbsheh.

1. Bigeh Island and the Barrage from Philae.

2. Temple of Bigeh. Native Houses in the foreground.



3. Philae from Bigeh.

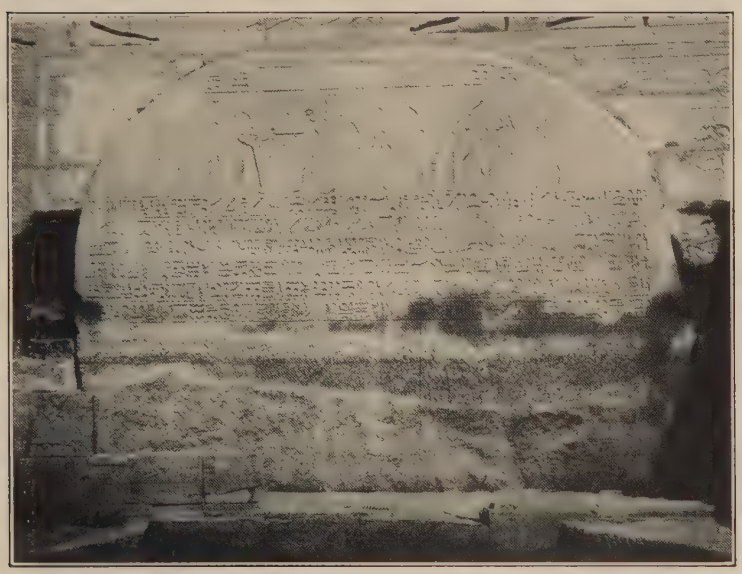
4. Bigeh from Philae.

1. The Kiosk at Philae: from the south-west, at low water.

2. The Kiosk from the south-east, at low water.

A. E. P. W.

3. The Kiosk at high water: from the north-west.

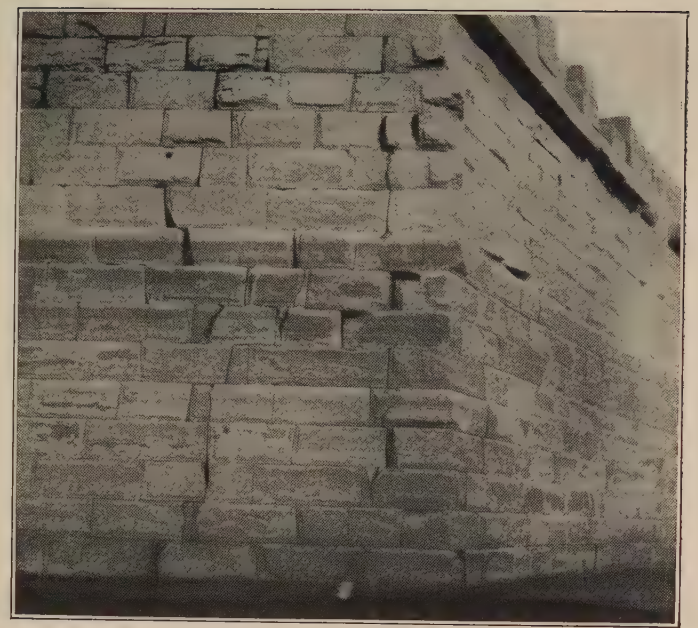


1. Philae. Court of the Temple of Isis: the Stele of the Twelve Schoinoi.

2. Philae. Temple of Hathor: Bes dancing.

3. Philae. Second Pylon, showing stains above high-water level.

4. Philae. West Colonnade, showing high-water level at ×.

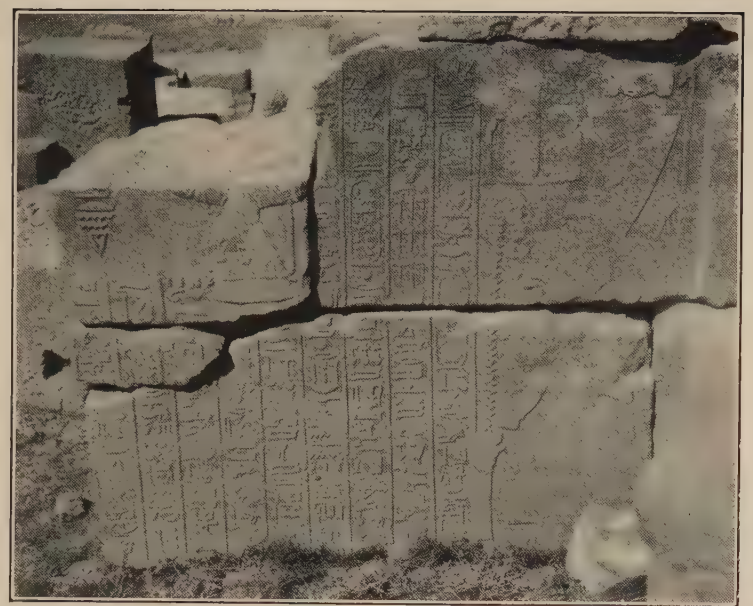


1. South-west corner of Philae.

2. West side of Philae, the falling quay wall.

3. West side of Philae, from the north.

4. West side of Philae, from the south.



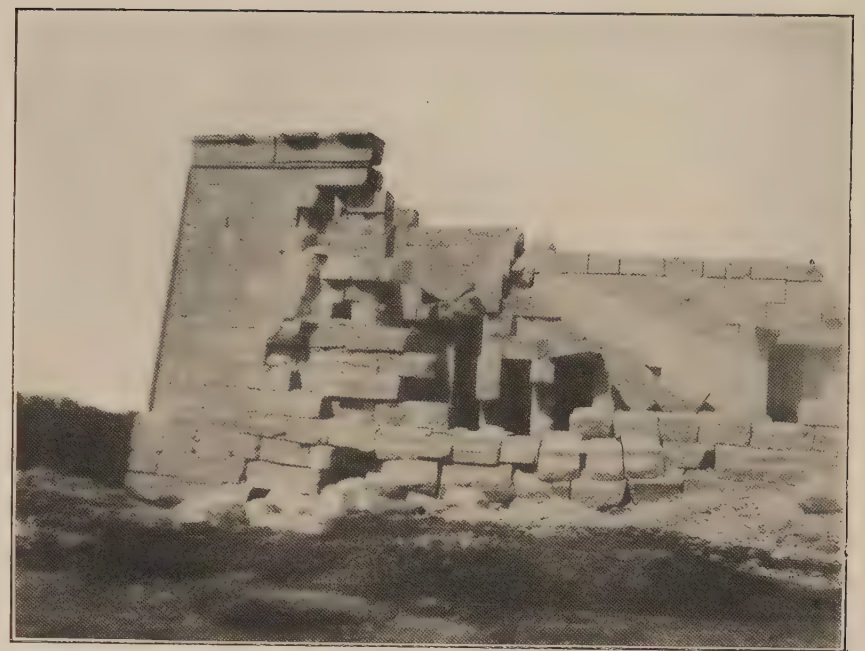
1. Philae. Temple of Arsnuphis: Inscription of Ergamenes.

2. Philae. Osiris chamber: Reliefs on west wall.

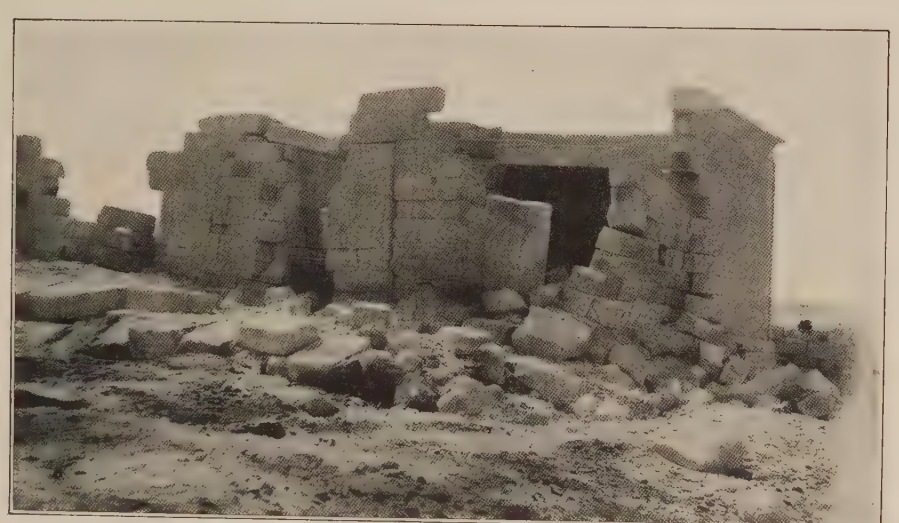
A. E. P. W.

3. Temple of Dabôd a few years ago. The houses in front are now removed, and the third gateway has fallen.

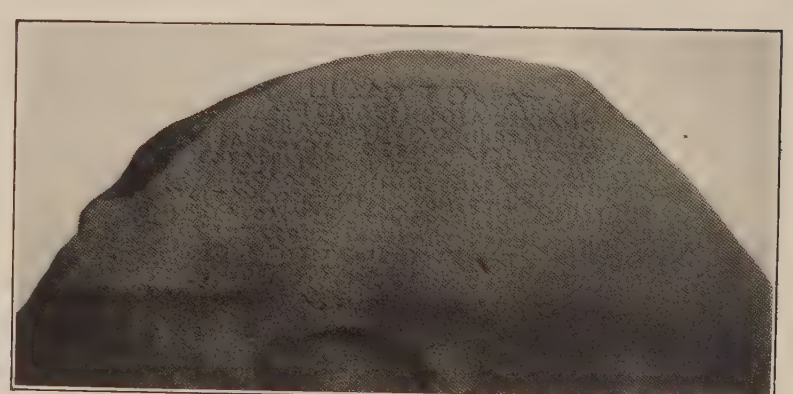
1. Temple of Dabôd from south-west, showing undamaged west end.



2. Temple of Dabôd from south, showing remains of wall which has been quarried away.

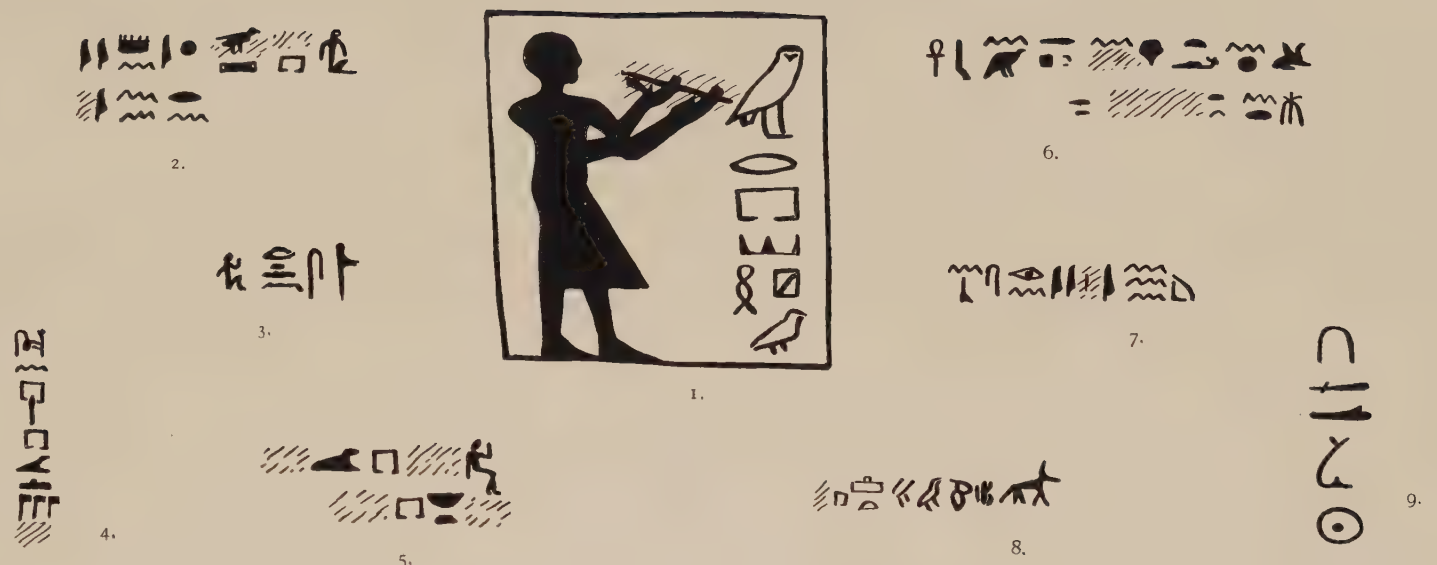


3. Temple of Dabôd, from north-east, showing falling walls.



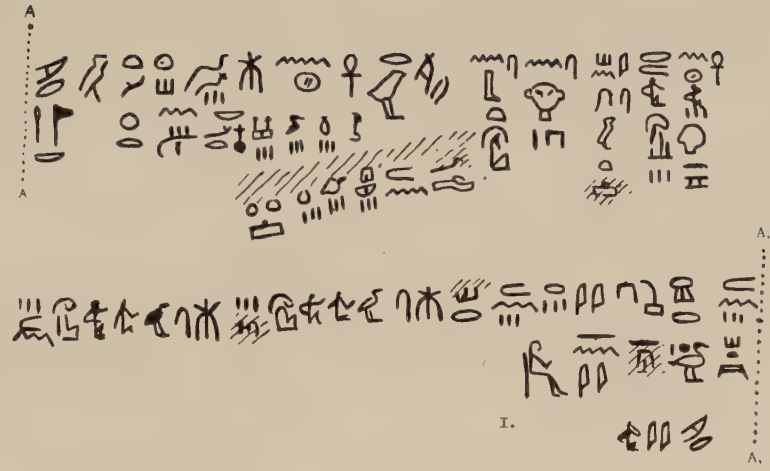
4. Greek Inscription at Dehmîd.

A. E. P. W.

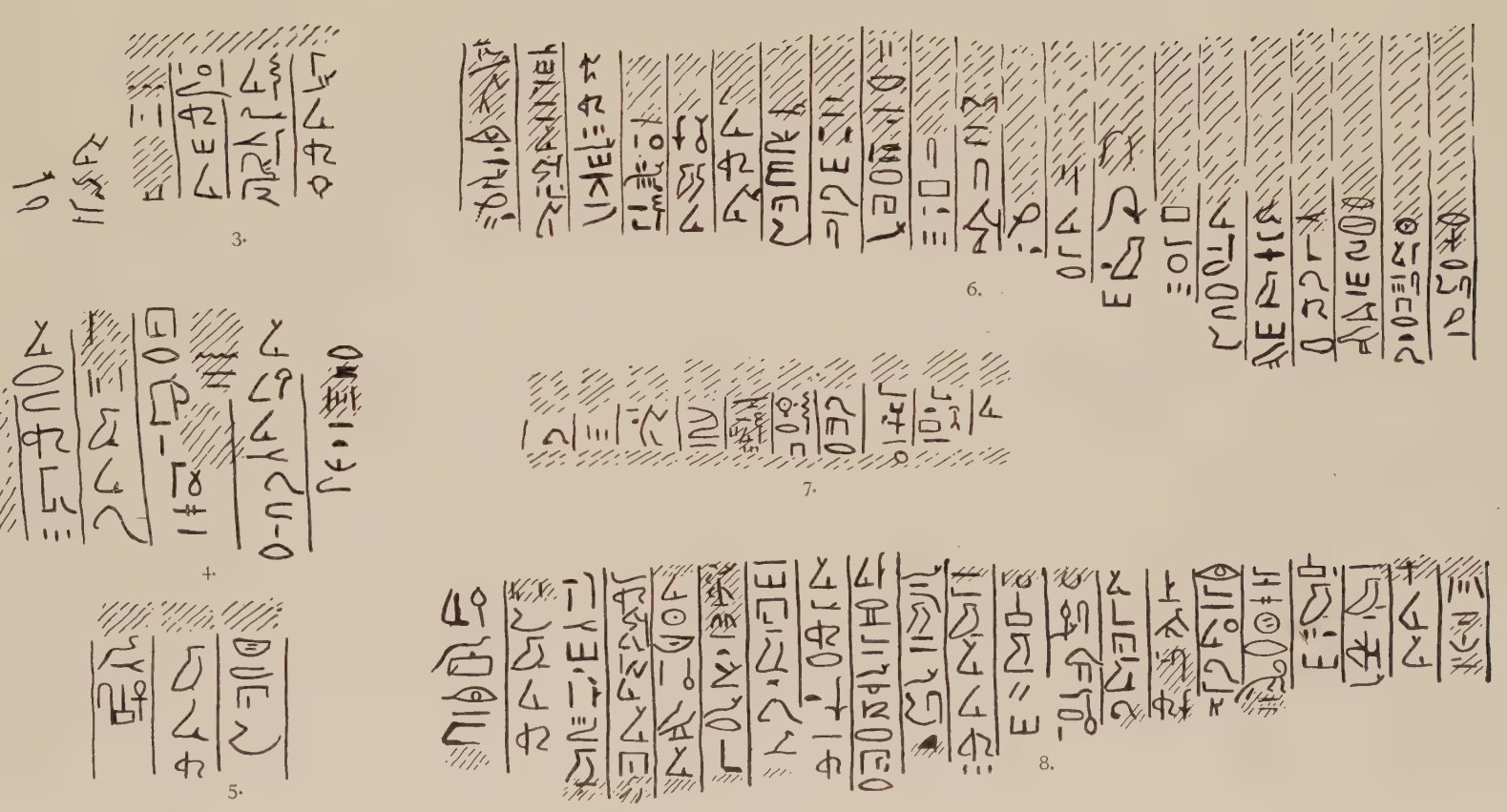


Rock Inscriptions between Philae and Dabôd.

Rock Inscriptions at Dehmîd.



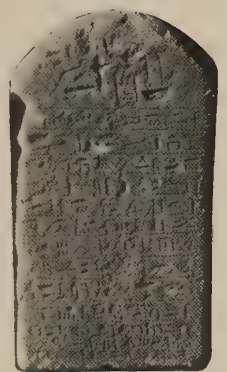
Rock Inscriptions at Umbarakâb.



Rock Inscriptions at Dehmîd.

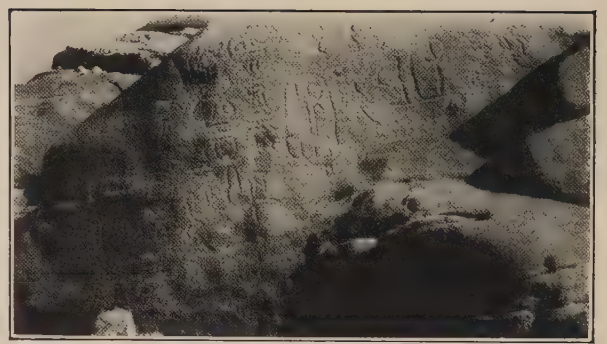
1. Ḳertassi Temple, from the south.

2. Ḳertassi Temple, from the west.



1. Stele from Dehmîd.

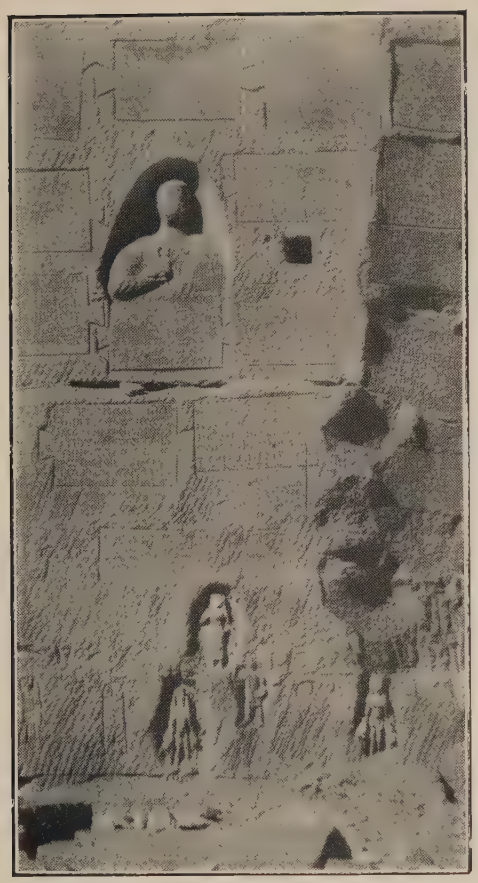
3. Temple remains at Wâdy Hedîd.



2. Inscription of unknown king at Umbarakâb.

4. Fortress of Ḳertassi.

5. Inscriptions and Shrine in Quarry at Ḳertassi.



1. Greek Inscriptions, &c., in Quarry at Ḳertassi.

2. Tâfeh–Kalâbsheh Road: Church of Sitteh Kasmâr.

3. Tâfeh Temple: south front.

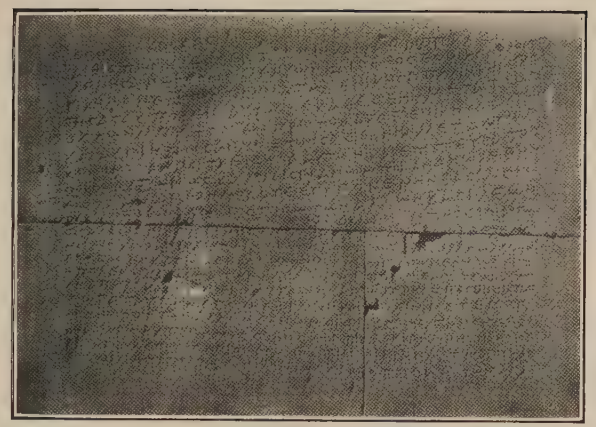
4. Tâfeh–Kalâbsheh Road. Rock with Inscription of Taharḳa.

1. Tâfeh: Roman House.

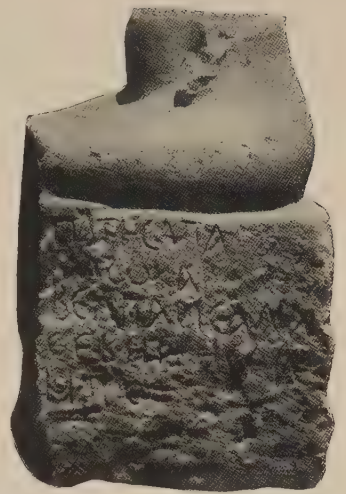
2. Tâfeh: Roman Pavilion on cliffs to south of town.

4. The Caravan Road behind Kalâbsheh.

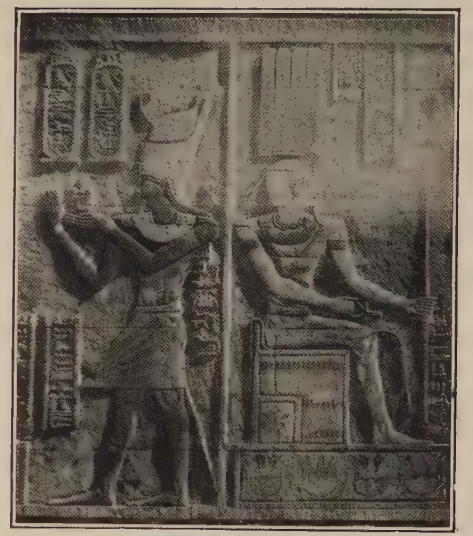
3. North end of the Bâb el Kalâbsheh as seen from the Roman Pavilion (No. 2).



1. Kalâbsheh Temple: Inscription of Silko.



2. Kalâbsheh Temple: part of statue with Greek Inscription.



3. Kalâbsheh Temple: specimen of Reliefs.

4. Kalâbsheh Temple: Doorways to the Adytum and Sanctuary.

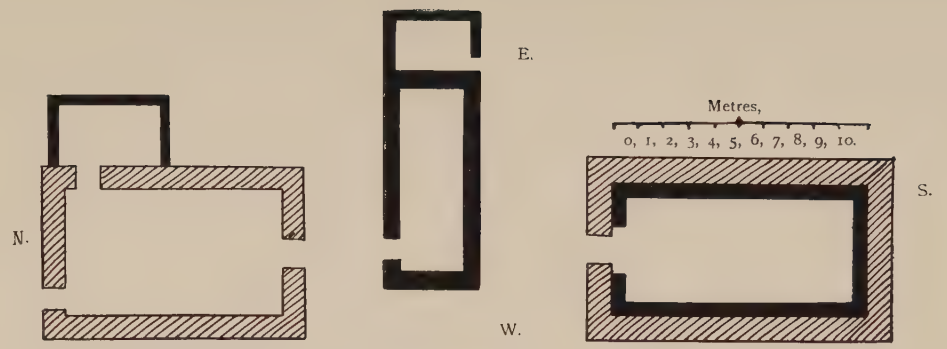
5. Kalâbsheh Temple: Doorway to the Sanctuary.

1. Trees in the water near Kalâbsheh Temple.

2. Kalâbsheh Temple: First Court.

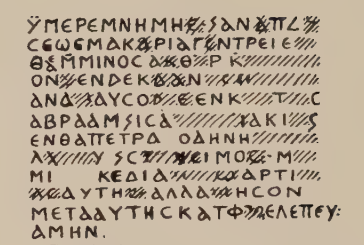
1. Kalâbsheh Temple: First Court and Main Building.

Dimri. Pot from Contracted Burial. Roman.

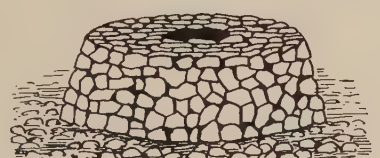


Sketch-plan of Buildings on Cliffs above Tâfeh

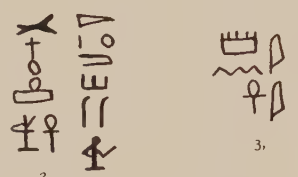
Shaded lines: masonry Black: Brick work.



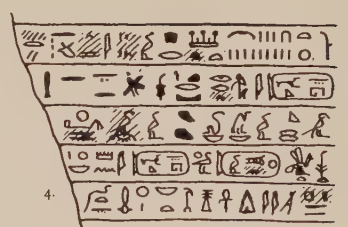
1. Coptic Inscription from Tâfeh.



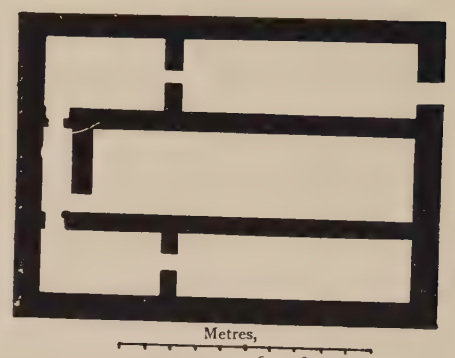
Tumulus behind Kalâbsheh.



Inscriptions at Tâfeh.



Taharḳa Inscription on Kalâbsheh–Tâfeh Road.

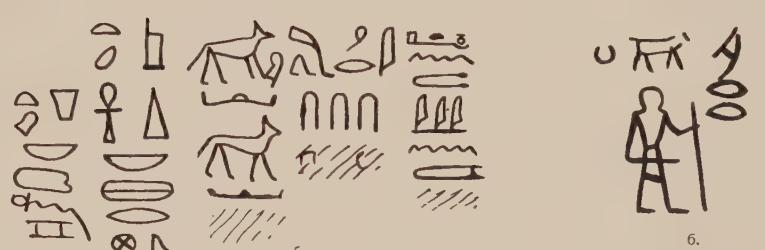


Sketch-plan of Roman House at Tâfeh.

A. Pharaoh.

B. Hathor. C. Pharaoh.

Specimens of Heads from the Kalâbsheh Temple Reliefs.



Inscriptions on Rocks at Khartûm.

Inscriptions on Rocks in the Bab el Kalâbsheh.

1. Temple of Abû Hôr: Greek Inscriptions.

2. Temple of Abû Hôr: Quay wall.

3. Temple of Abû Hôr.

4. Temple of Abû Hôr: Stairway in quay.

1. Roman Temple at Abû Târfeh.

2. Dendûr Temple from the river.

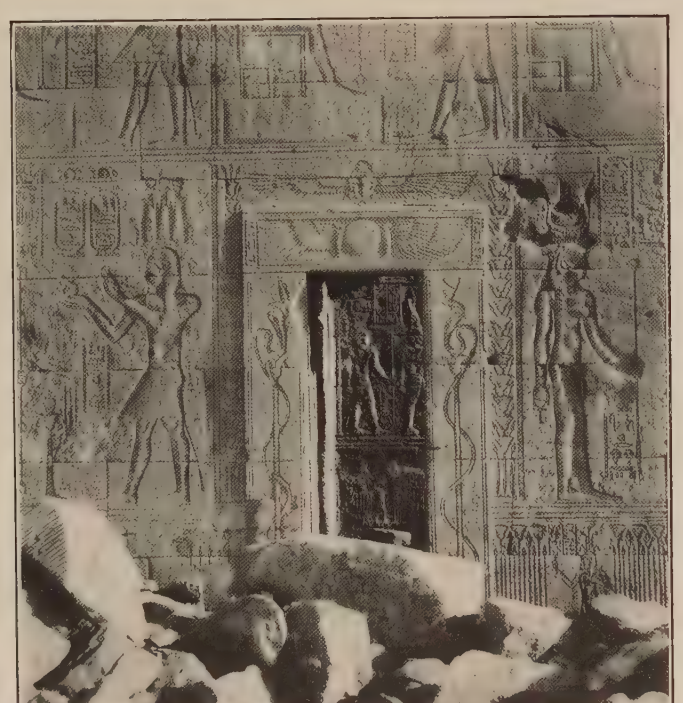
3. Dendûr Temple from the river.

4. Dendûr Temple: Main Building.

Temple of Dendûr.

1. Figure of Petisis and wife: south side of Dendûr Temple.

2. Rock Tomb or Shrine at the back of Dendûr Temple, viewed from the roof of the Sanctuary.



3. Doorway on south side of Dendûr Temple.

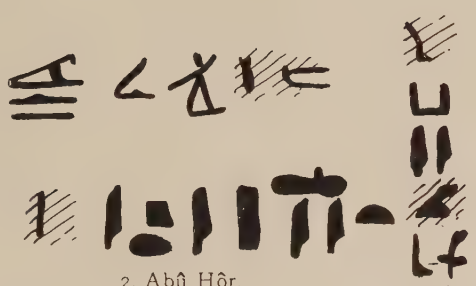
4. Dendûr Temple. Figure of Pehorus and Demotic Inscription. North wall of Pronaos.

1. Abû Hôr.

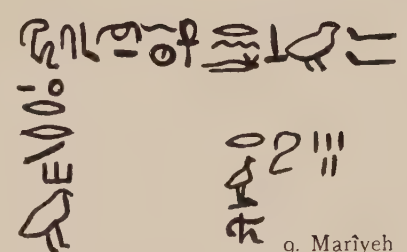
3. Marîyeh.

1. Abû Hôr.

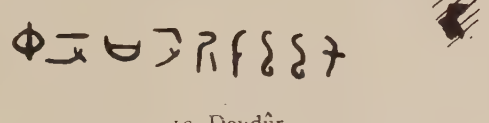
4. Marîyeh



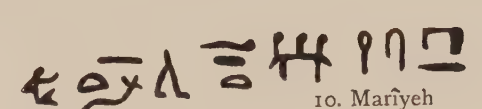
2. Abû Hôr.



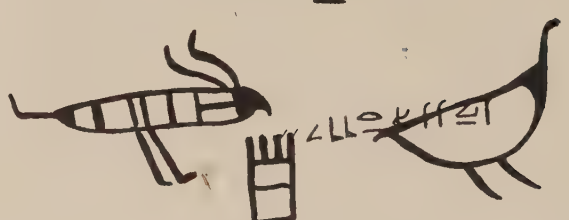
9. Marîyeh



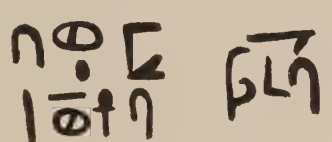
12. Dendûr.



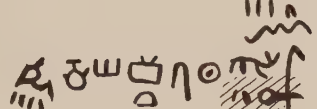
10. Marîyeh



5. Marîyeh.



7. Marîyeh.

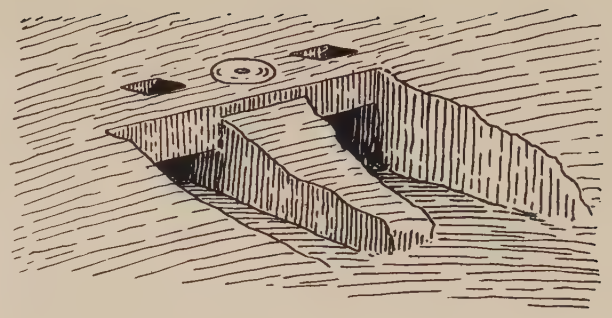


8. Marîyeh.

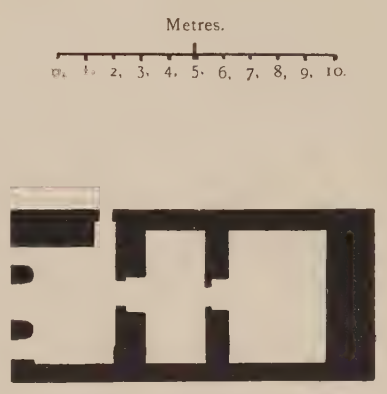
6 Marîyeh.

11. Marîyeh.

1. Prehistoric Drawing on a rock near Dendûr.



2. Roman Mill cut in the rock near Dendûr.



Plan of Temple of Dendûr.

1. Cartouche of Kakará on Rock at Gerf Ḥusên.

2. Fortified Town of Sâbagûra, opposite Gerf Ḥusên.

3. Modern Pottery lying near Sheik's Tomb on Hill above Gerf Ḥusên.

Temple of Gerf Ḥusên.

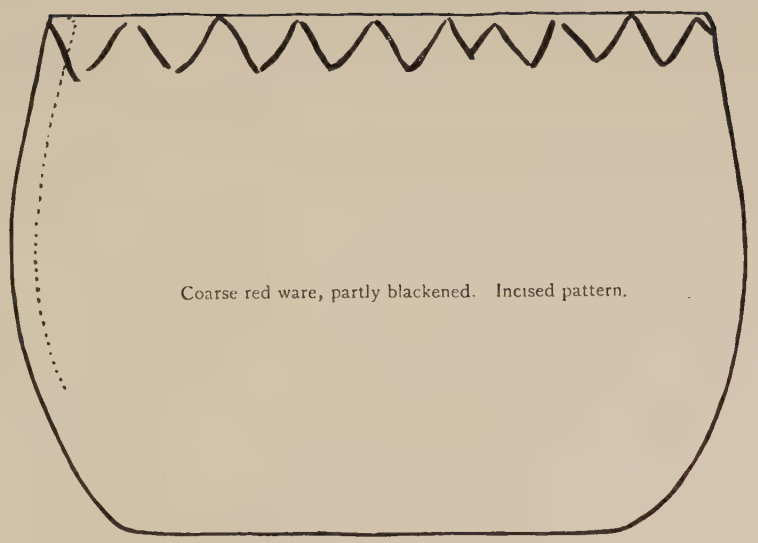
1. Temple of Gerf Ḥusên, from river.

2. Temple of Gerf Ḥusên, north side.

A. E. P. W.

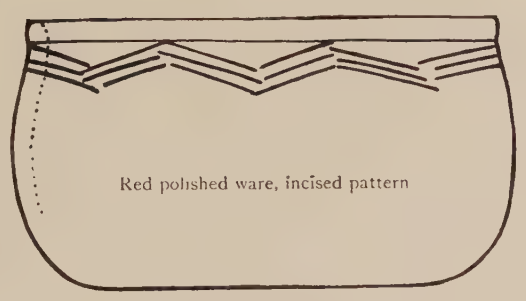
3. Temple of Gerf Ḥusên, south side.

Drawings and inscriptions at Gerf Ḥuṣên.

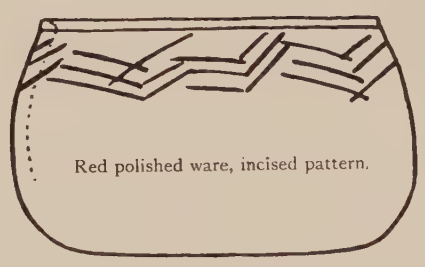


1. Gerf Ḥusên, from Old Shêkh's Tomb.

2. Kirsh, modern ware.



3. Kirsh, modern ware.



4. Kirsh, modern ware.

5. Gerf Ḥusên, from Old Shêkh's Tomb.

6.

7.

8.

9.

10.

11.

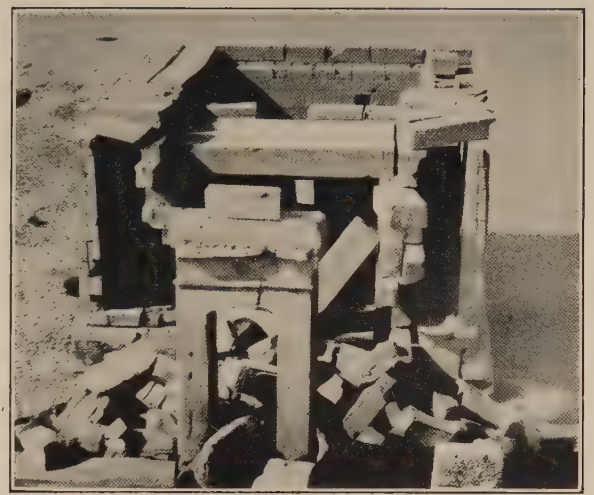
Drawings and Inscriptions South of Gerf Ḥusên Temple.

1. Serpentine Wall, west side of Koshtâmneh Fortress.

2. Internal Walls, Koshtâmneh Fortress.

3. Internal Walls, Koshtâmneh Fortress.

4. North-west corner of Koshtâmneh Fortress.



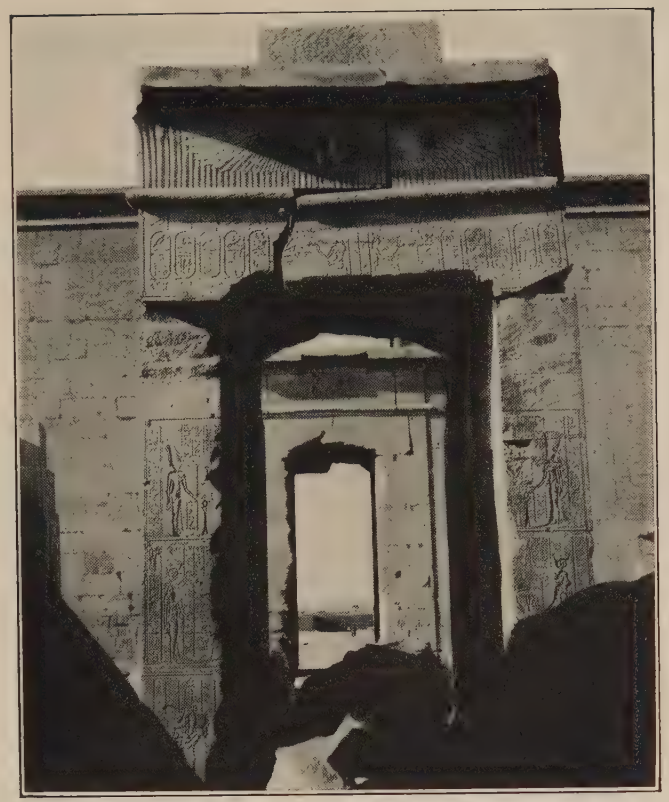
1. Temple of Dakkeh: looking down from Pylon on Sanctuary and Ruined Pronaos.

2. Temple of Dakkeh, showing Ruined Pronaos.

A. E. P. W.

3. Temple of Dakkeh a few years ago, showing Pronaos complete.

Temple of Dakkeh from north-west, as it was a few years ago.



1. Dakkeh Temple, looking from the Sanctuary.

2. Pylon of Dakkeh Temple, and Ruined Pronaos.

3. Relief in Sanctuary, Dakkeh Temple.

4. Dakkeh Temple, from the south.

1. Fortress of Ḳubbân, from south.

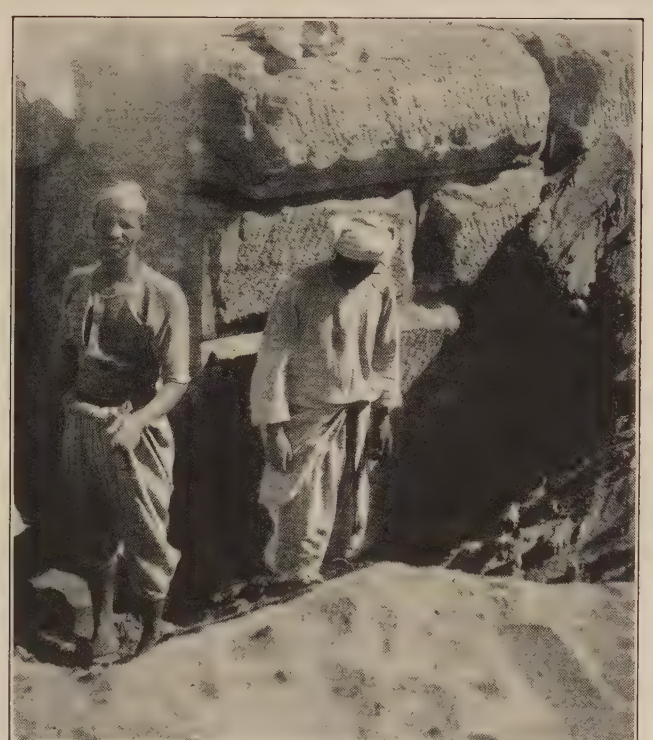
2. Fortress of Ḳubbân, from south-east.

3. Temple south of Village of Ḳubbân.

4. Fortress of Ḳubbân, from river.

1. Village of Ḳubbân, with Fortress in the distance.

2. Stele at Ḳubbân.



3. South-west Corner of Ḳûrteh Temple.

4. Ḳûrteh Temple.

1. Temple of Maḥâraṇa from east, a few years ago.

2. Temple of Maḥâraṇa, from south-east.

3. Ruined spiral staircase,
Temple of Maḥâraḳa.

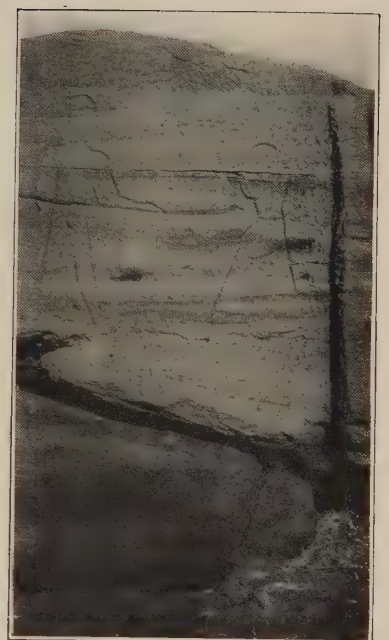
1. Temple of Maḥâraḳa, from south.

2. Temple of Maḥâraḳa, from north-west.

4. Temple of Maḥâraḳa,
Leaning wall upon which are the
Egypto-Roman reliefs.

5. Byzantine fortress of Meḥêndi.

1. Rough Stone enclosure near Es Sebûʿa.



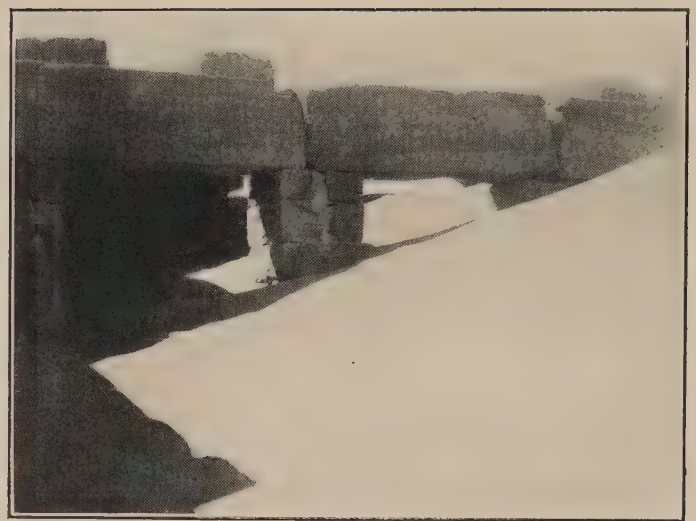
2. Ramesside Stele near Es Sebûʿa.

3. Dromos of Es Sebûʿa Temple.

A. E. P. W.

4. Temple of Es Sebûʿa.

1. Back of Statue of Rameses II: Es Sebû'a Temple.



2. Court of Es Sebû'a Temple, filled with sand.

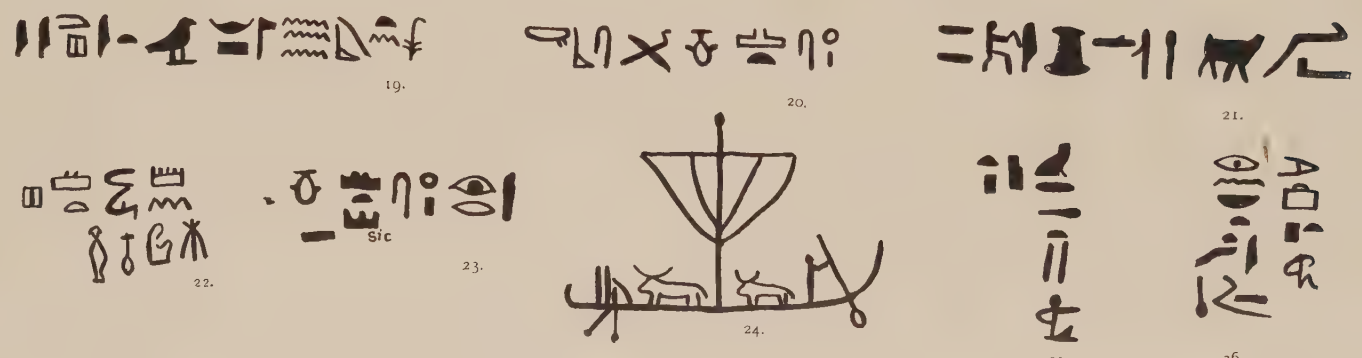
3. West side of Pylon of Es Sebû'a Temple.

4. Shrine of Amenophis III: Es Sebû'a.

1. Cartouche of an unknown king: Medik.

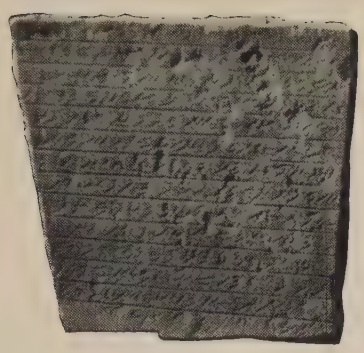
2. Inscription at Agâybeh.

Rock Inscriptions at the North Terminus of the Medîk-Tômas Road.



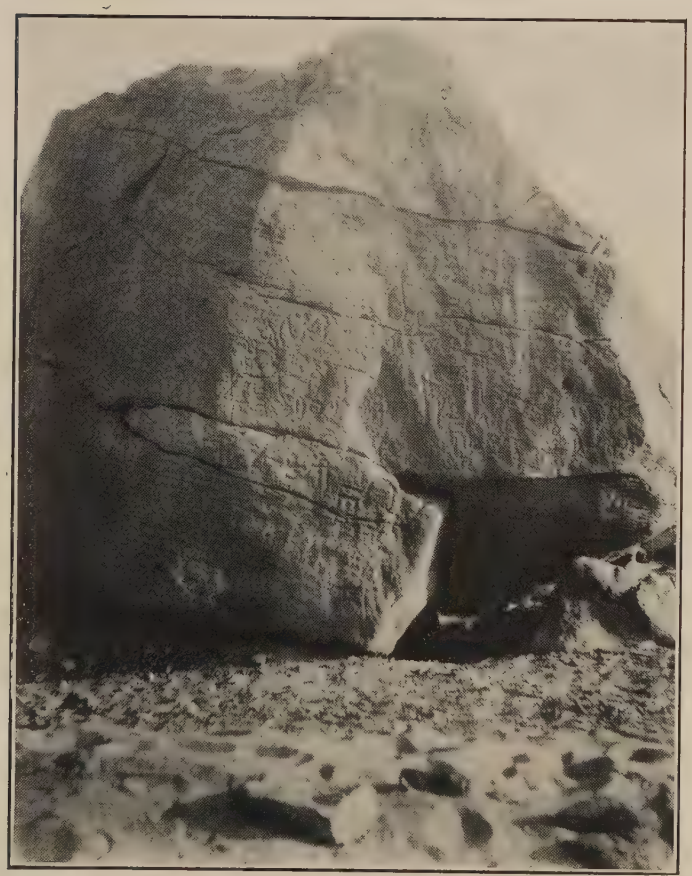
Rock Inscriptions and Drawing: Sayâleh.

View from Hill behind Korôsko.



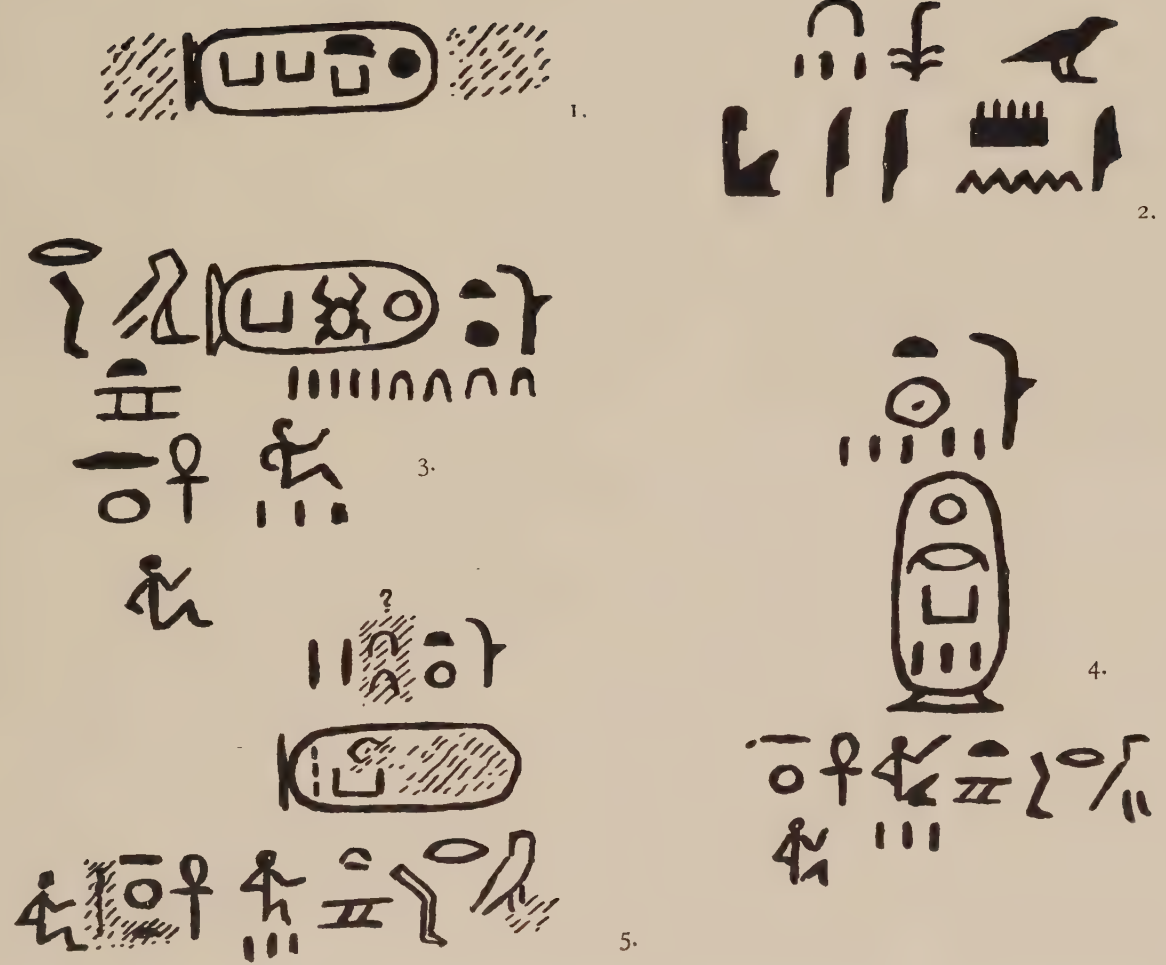
1. Inscribed stone from ʿAmâda.

2. Inscribed rock at ʿAmâda: north face.

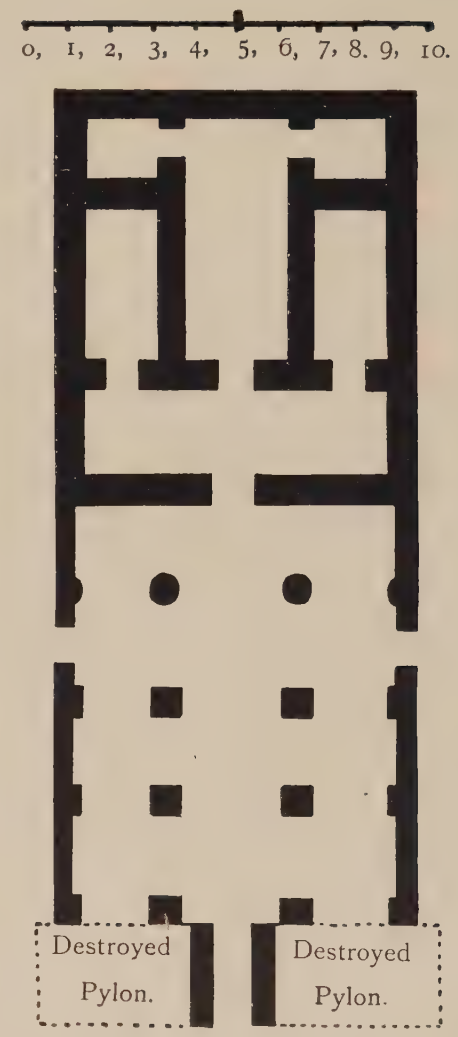


3. Inscribed Rock at ʿAmâda: south face.

4. Inscribed rock at ʿAmâda: east face.



Inscriptions on Rock to North of 'Amâda Temple.



Sketch-plan of 'Amâda Temple.

1.

Inscription on Rock to North of Âmâda Temple.

2.

Âmâda, Cemetery 3, "Pan-Grave."

3.

4.

5.

6.

3, 4, 6, Inscriptions at Tomâs.

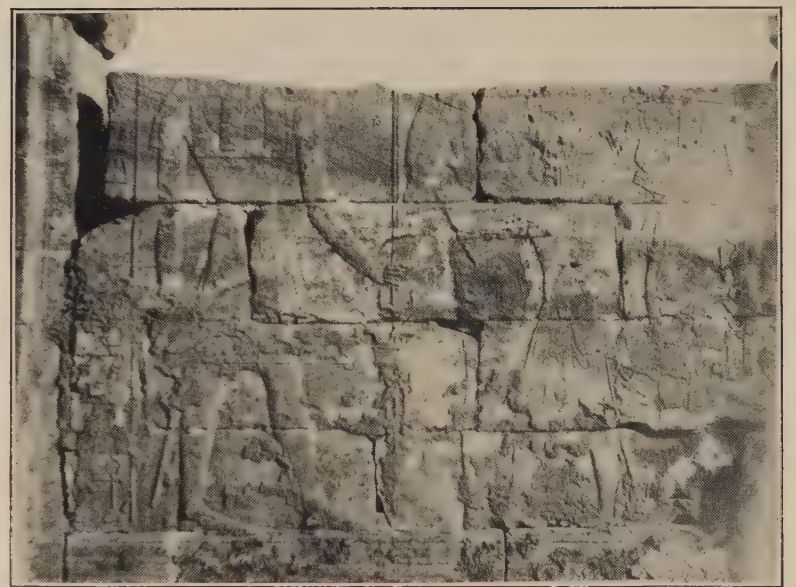
5 Inscription opposite Derr.

7.

8.

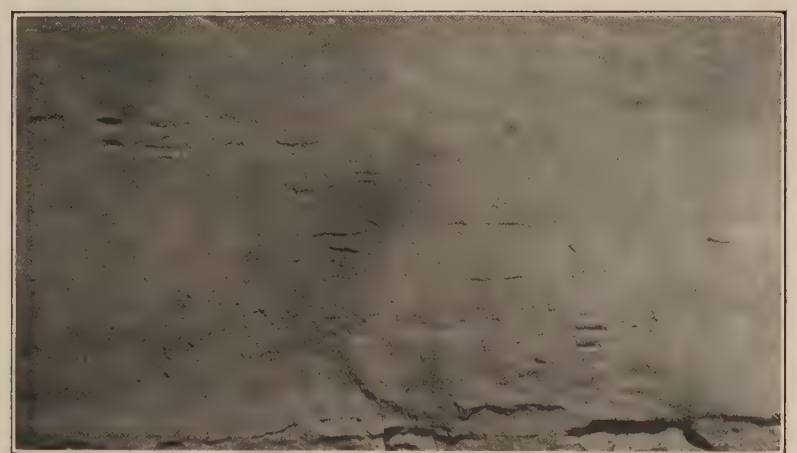
Mediæval Pottery from Tomâs.

1. 'Amâda Temple, front.

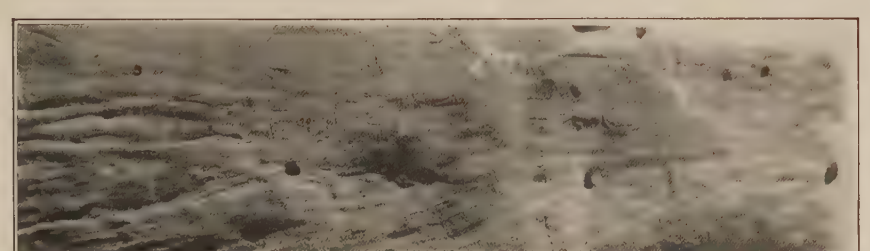


2. Relief of Thoutmosis IV, 'Amâda Temple.

3. 'Amâda Temple from south.



1.



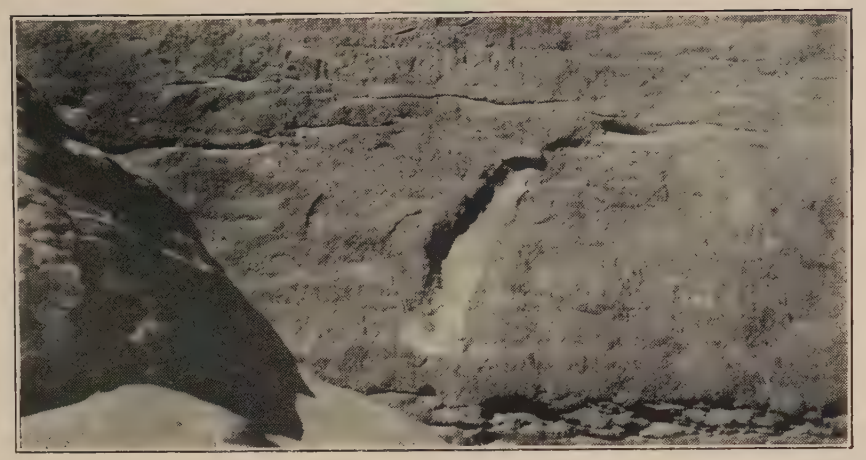
2.

3.

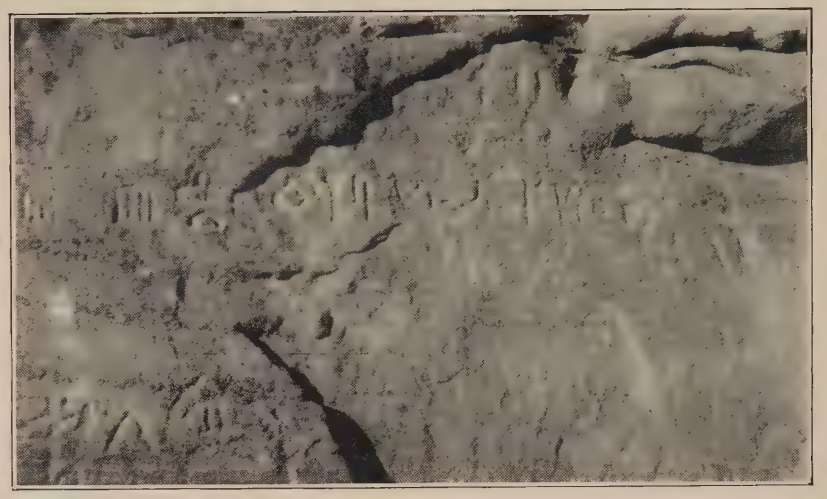
Inscriptions at Tomâs.

(See hand-copies, Plate LVIII, Nos. 28, 29, 30.)

A. E. P. W.



1.



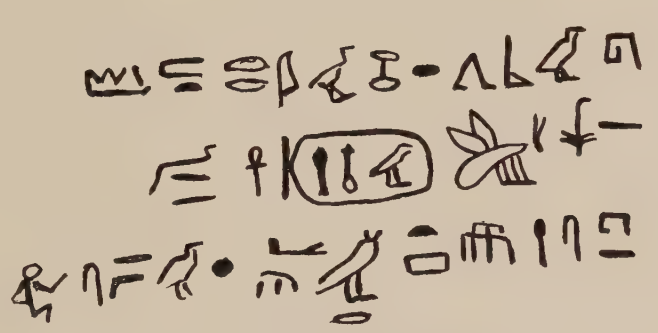
2.

3.

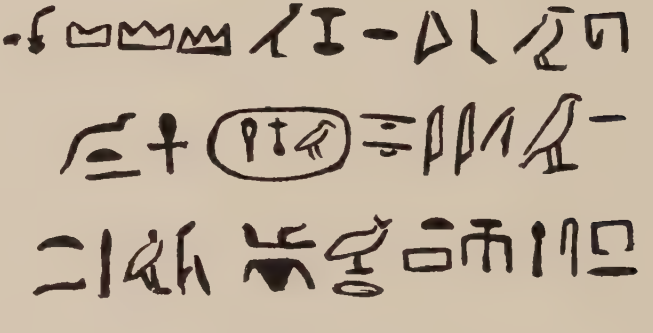
4.

Inscriptions at Tomâs.

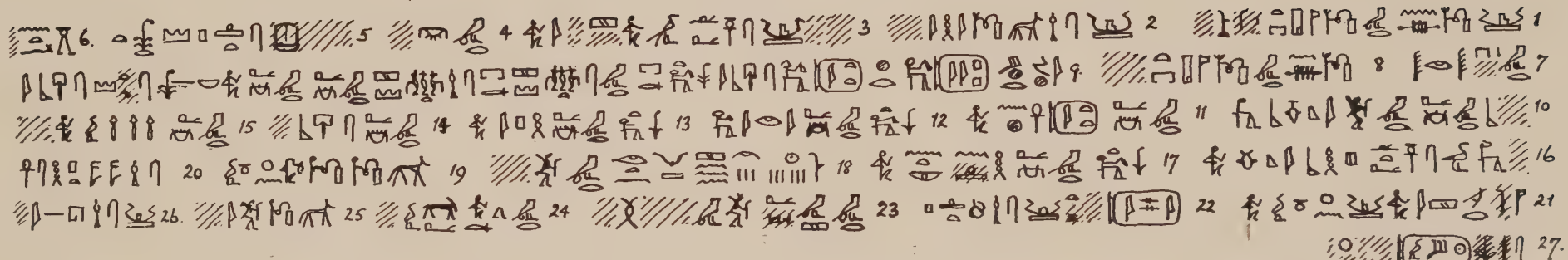
28 (See Plate LVI, No. 2).



29 (See Plate LVI, No. 1).



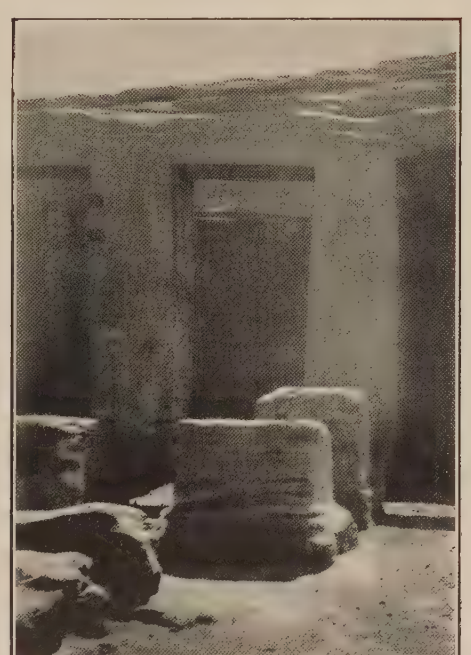
30 (See Plate LVI, No. 3).



Inscriptions at Tomâs.
(See photographs, Plate LVII.)

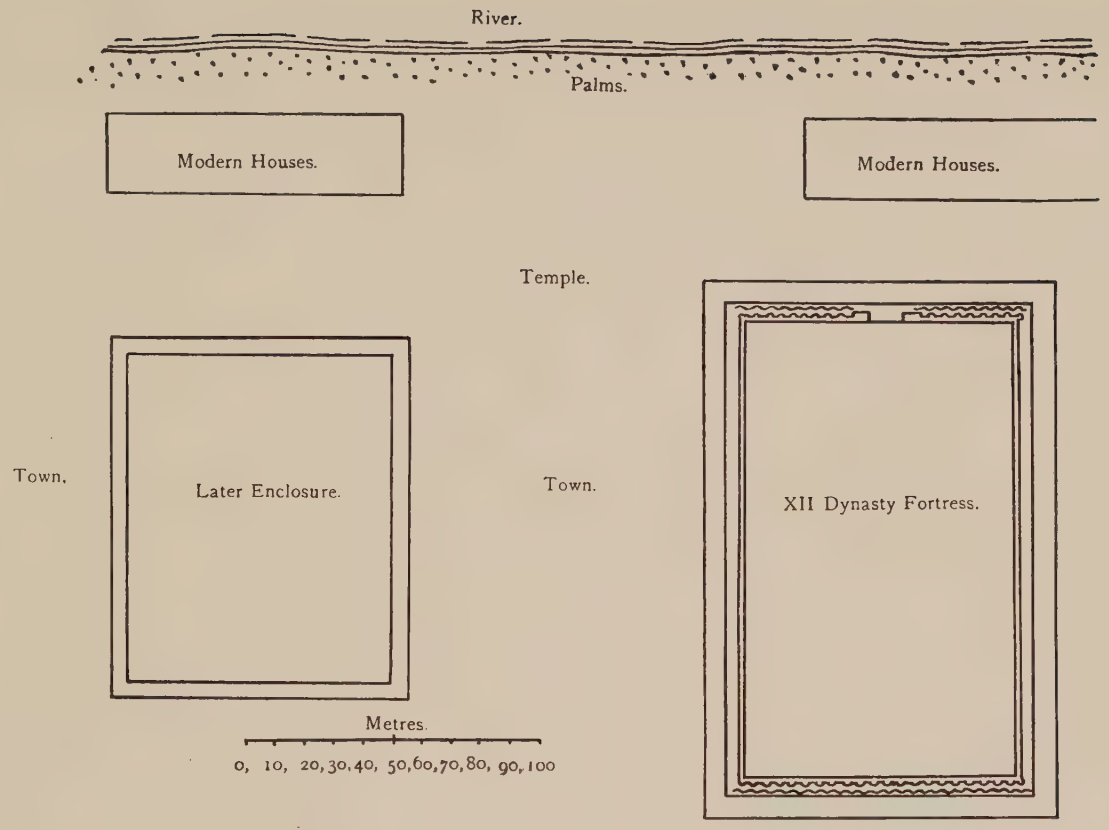
1. Inscription at Tomâs.

2. Shêkh Daûd, near Tomâs.

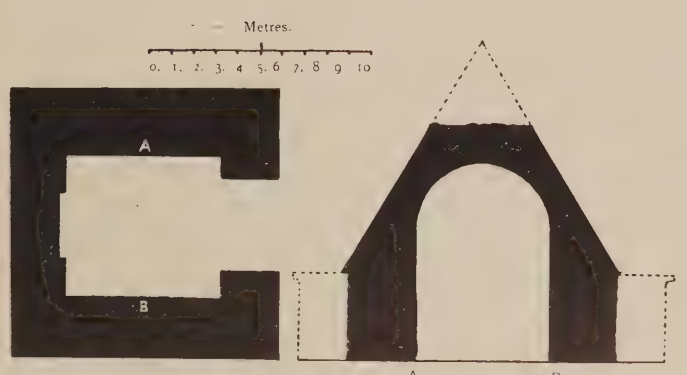


3. Derr Temple: Hall.

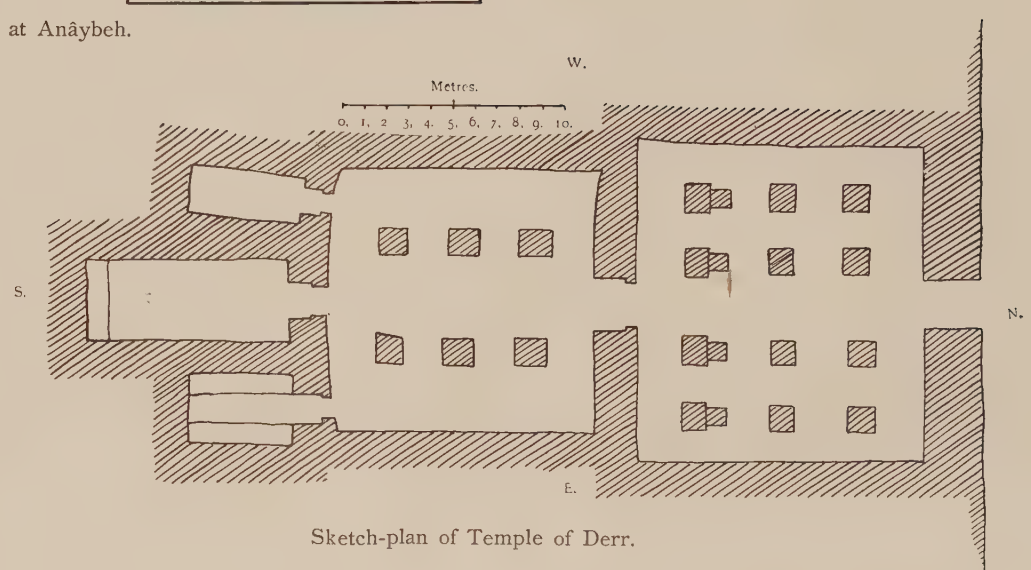
4. Derr Temple: Hall.



Sketch-plan of Ruins at Anâybeh.



Plan and Section of Pyramid Tomb at Anâybeh.



Sketch-plan of Temple of Derr.

1. Ḳaṣr Ibrîm: Interior of the Church.

2. Ḳaṣr Ibrîm, from the south.

3. Ḳaṣr Ibrîm, from the water's edge, looking north-east.

4. Ḳaṣr Ibrîm, from the river.

5. Ḳaṣr Ibrîm: Interior of the Church.

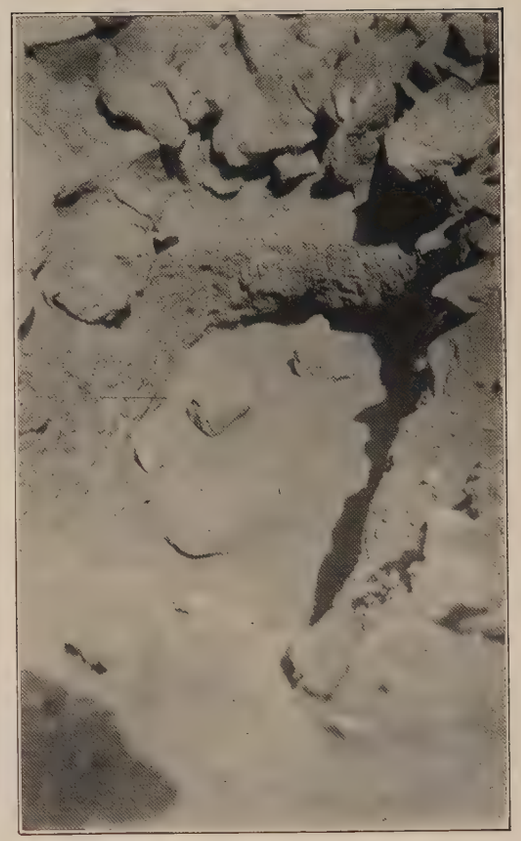
1. Temple at Ellesîyeh.

2. Inscription of Kakarâ and Seânrâ, at Ibrîm.

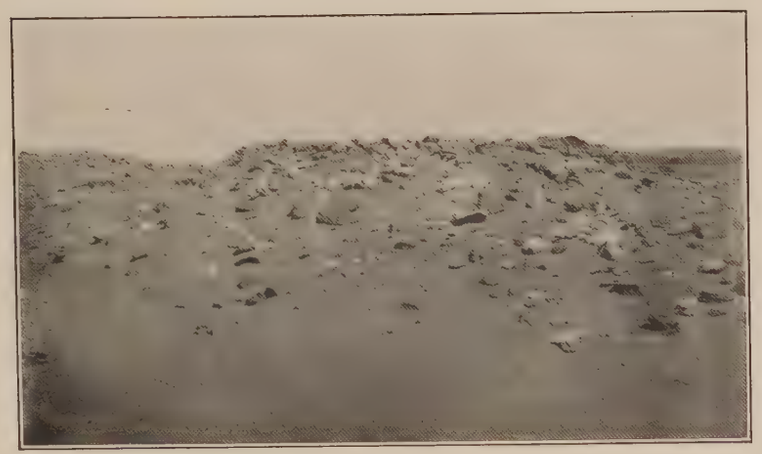
3. Ḳaṣr Ibrîm: the Church from south side.

4. Ḳaṣr Ibrîm: the North Gateway.

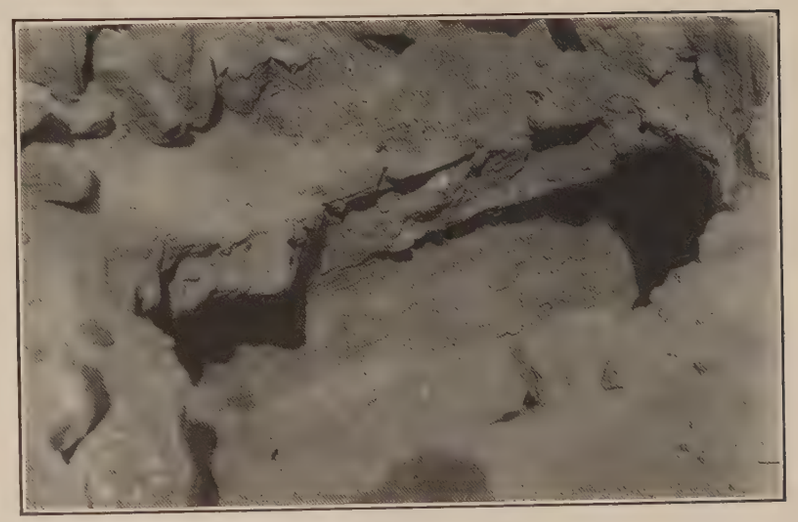
1. Brick Pyramid at Anâybeh.



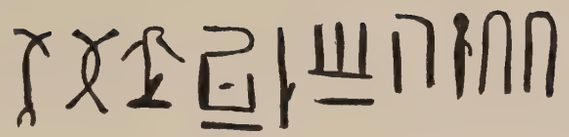
2. 'Pan-grave' at Tôshkeḥ.



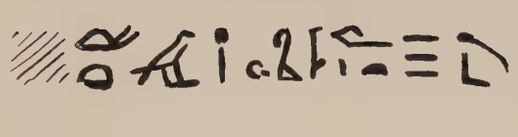
3. 'Pan-graves' at Tôshkeḥ.



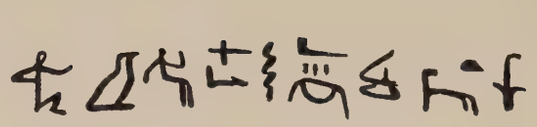
4. 'Pan-grave' at Tôshkeḥ.



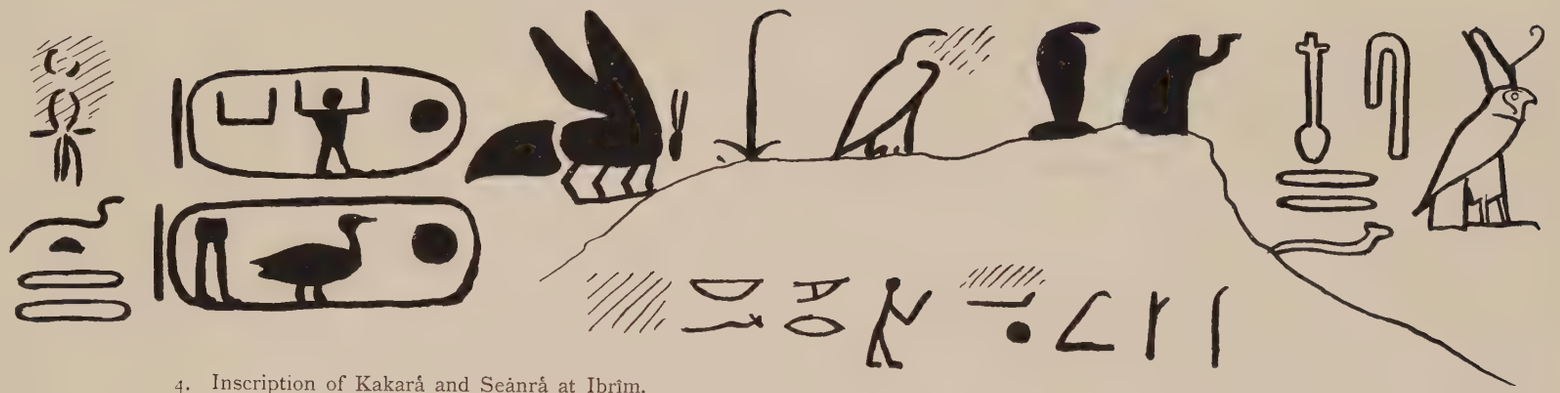
1. Tonḳâleh.



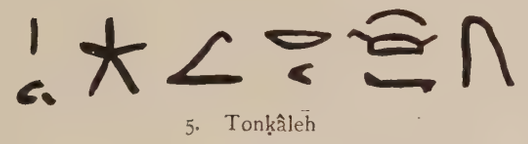
2. Tonḳâleh.



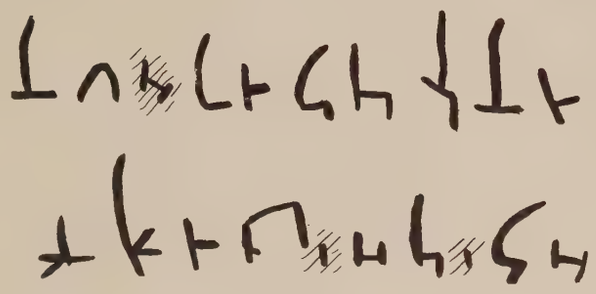
3. Tonḳâleh.



4. Inscription of Kakarâ and Seânrâ at Ibrîm.



5. Tonḳâleh



6. Tonḳâleh.

7. Stele of Rameses. Tonḳâleh.

8. Inscription, &c., of Kakarâ and Seânrâ at Ibrîm.

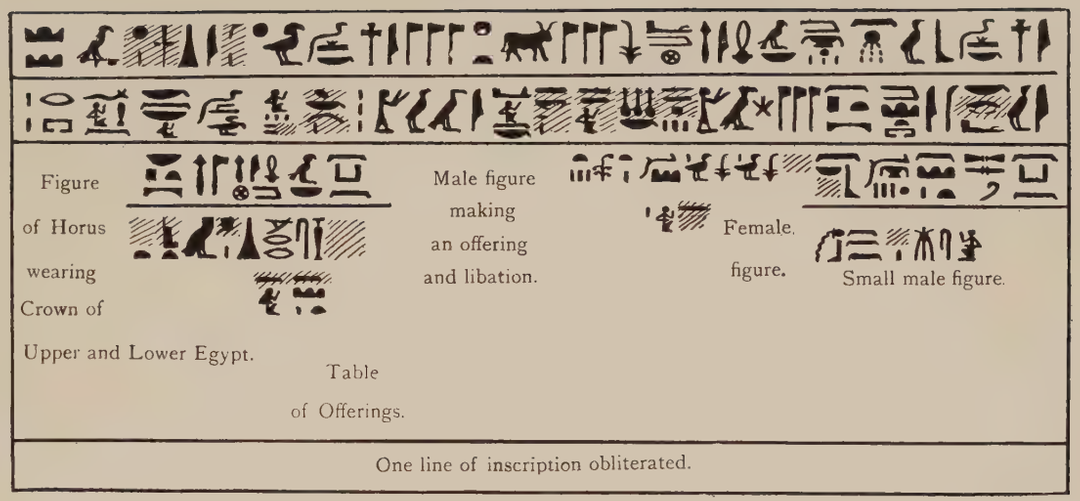
1. Inscription of Kakarâ and Seânrâ, Tôshkeḥ.

2. Inscriptions accompanying that of Kakarâ and Seânrâ.

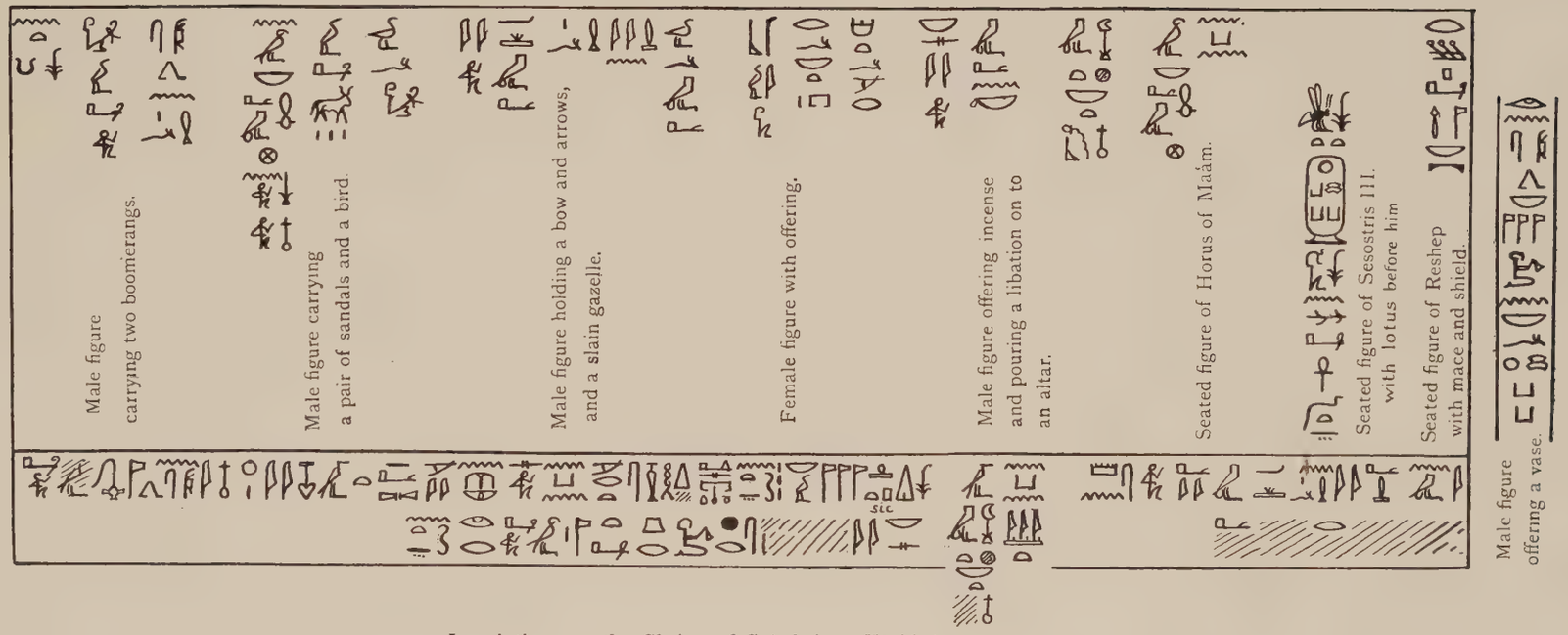
3. Archaic drawing.

4. Inscription of Kamose and Ahmose, Tôshkeḥ.

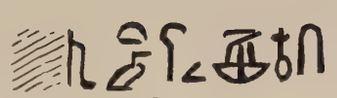
A. E. P. W.



Stele on Rocks, Tôshkeḥ (not facsimile).

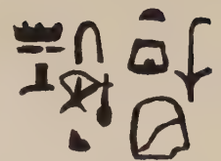


Inscriptions on the Shrine of Gebel Agg, Tôshkeḥ.


1.

2.

3.


4.

5.

Inscriptions, &c., at Ermênneh.

6.

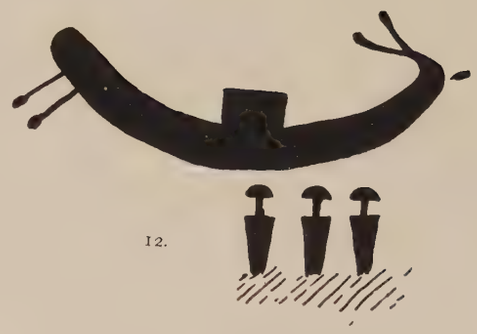
7.

8.

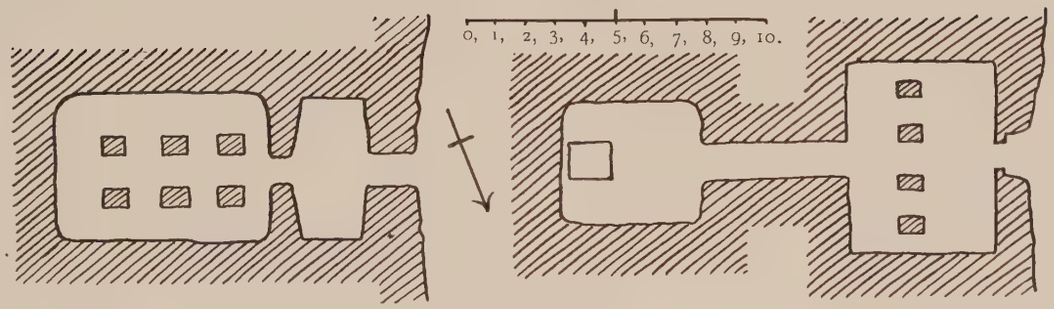
9.

10.

11.

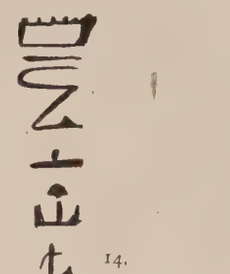

12.

Drawings of Animals, &c., Tôshkeḥ.



Plan of Two Tombs at Tôshkeḥ.

13.


14.

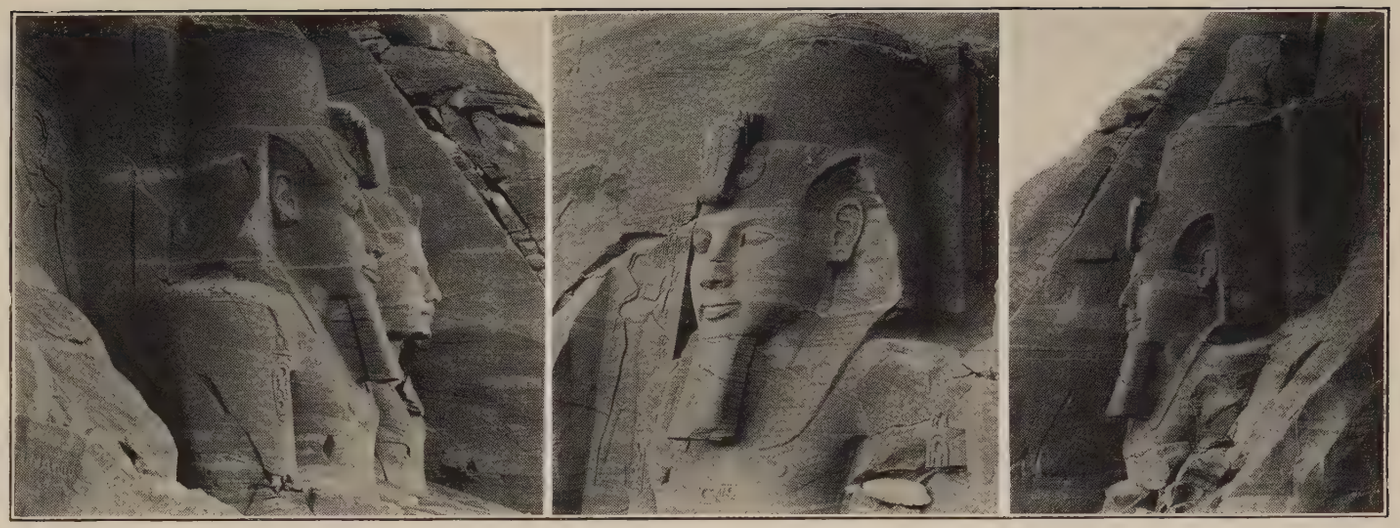
15.

Abu Simbel.

1. Byzantine Monastery of Ḳarânḳo.

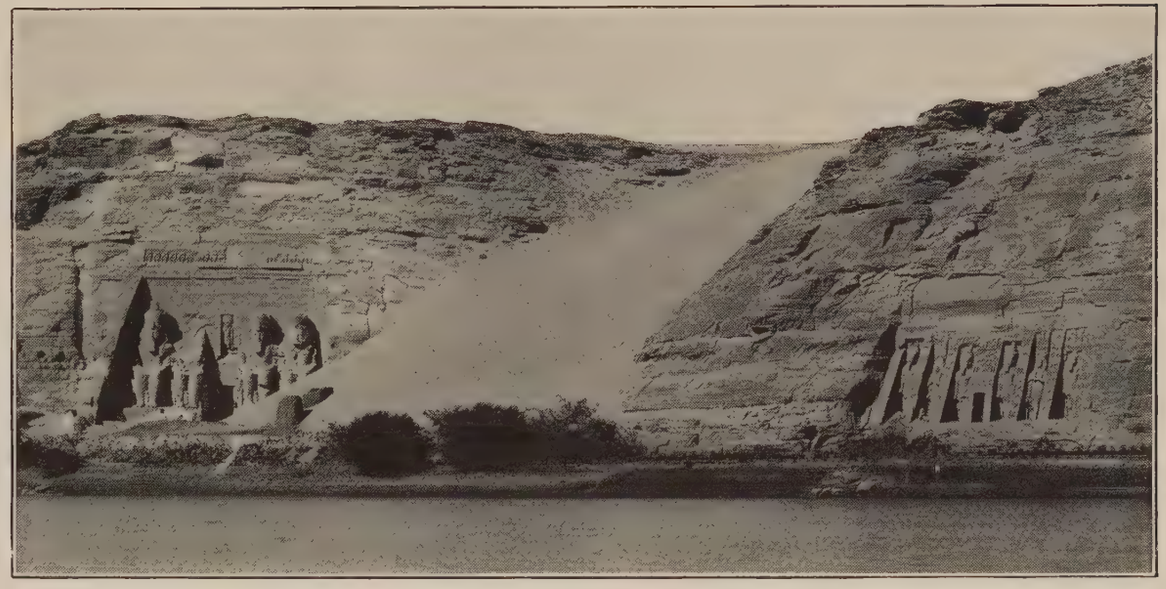
2. Steles at Abu Simbel.

3. Inscriptions at Abu Simbel.



1. 2. 3.

Temple of Abu Simbel: The Colossi.

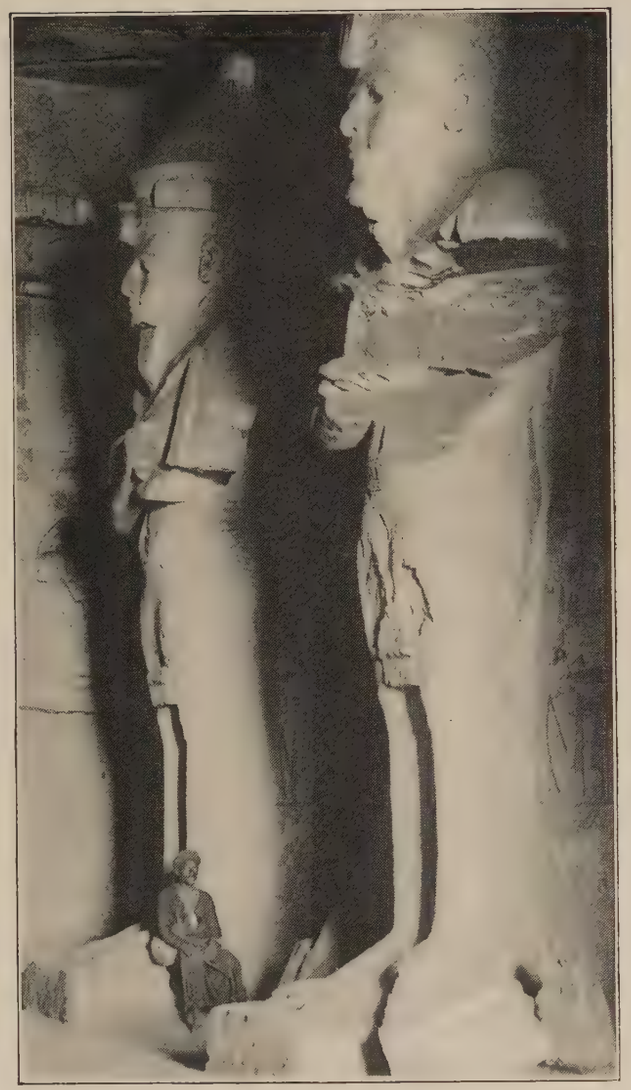


4. Temples of Abu Simbel, from river.

1. Abu Simbel: First Hall.

2. Abu Simbel: Façade.

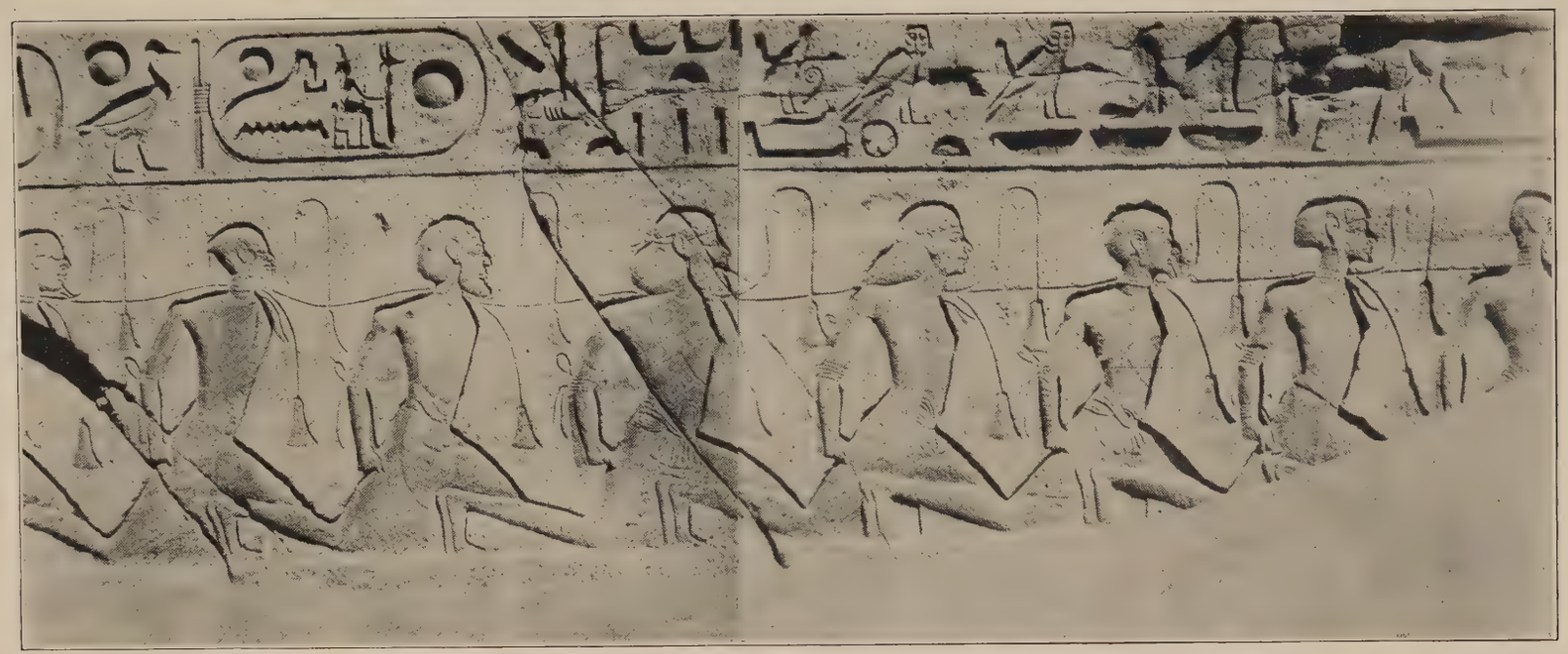
The Smaller Temple at Abu-Simbel.



1. Abu Simbel: First Hall. Third and Fourth Figures on the north side.

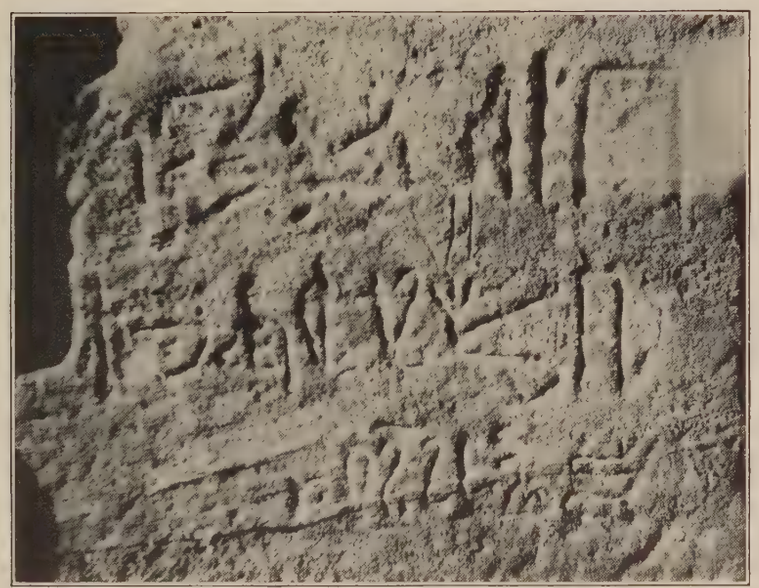
2. Abu Simbel: Statues in the Sanctuary.

A



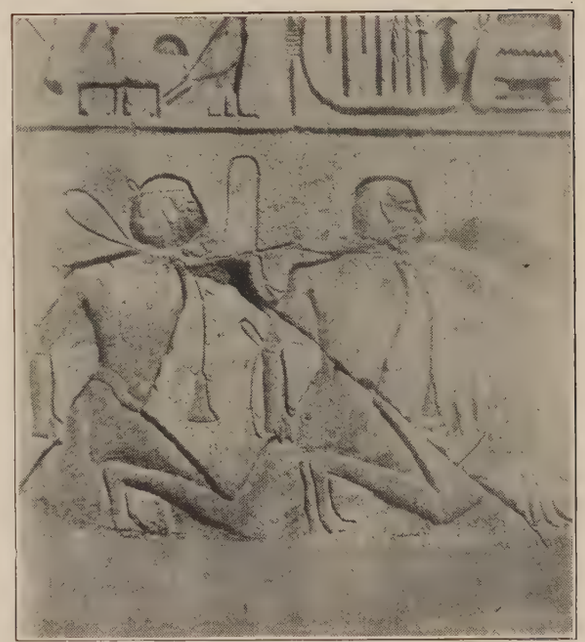
B

1. Abu Simbel: Asiatic captives on side of Colossus.



2. Inscription on side of Door, Temple of Abahûdeh.

A

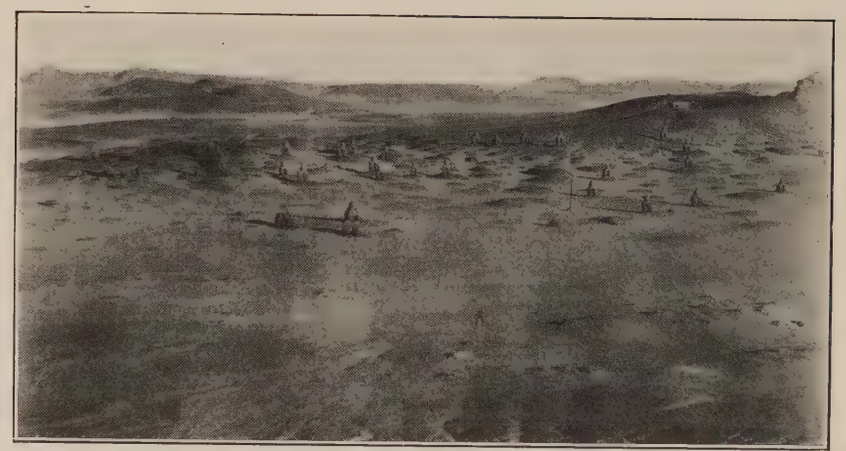


B

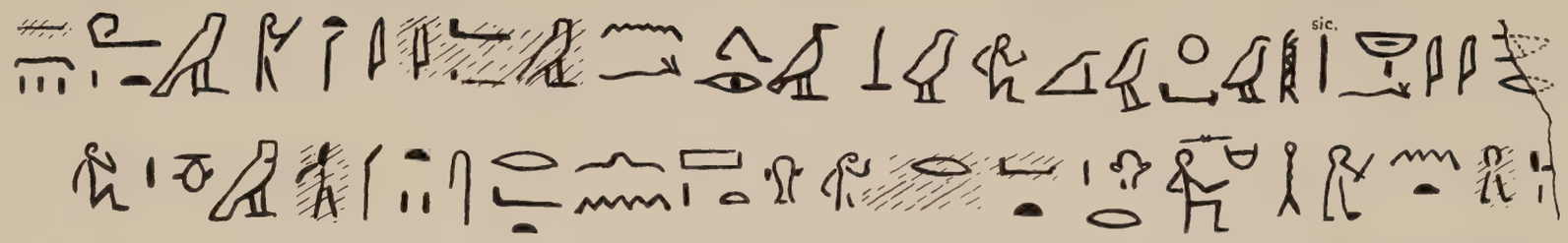
1. Fortress of Gebel Addeh.

2. Gebel Es Shêmsh.

3. Fortress of Gebel Addeh, from the south.



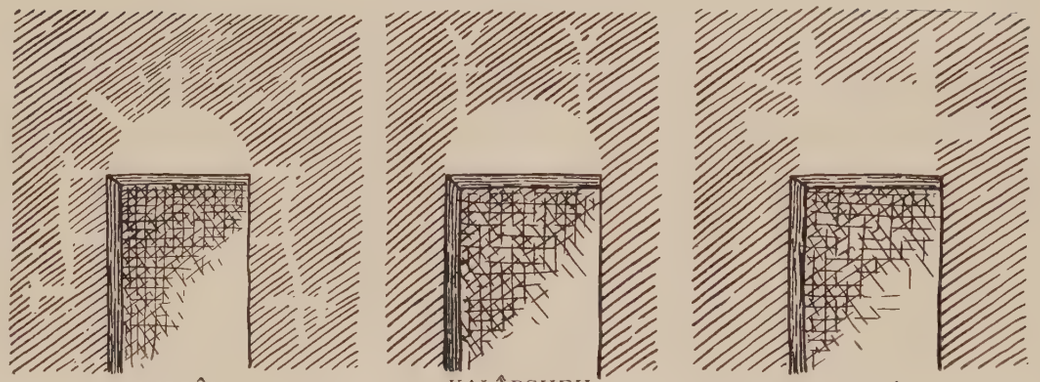
4. Mediaeval Cemetery to east of Fortress of Gebel Addeh.



ʿAmâda: Inscription on a cliff near the great inscribed rock.

Medîk.

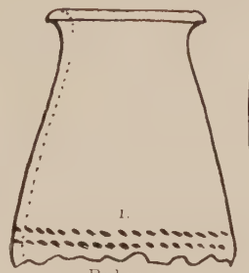
Medîk.



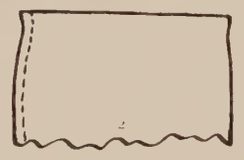
ḲUBBÂN KALÂBSHEH. ḲUBBÂN.

Whitewash decoration over doorways. See Plate VIII.

ʿAmâda. Near great inscribed rock.



Red ware



Light red ware

Shaturmêh.

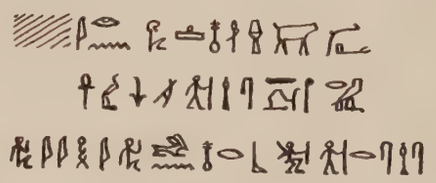
Light red ware.

Red ware.

Dark red ware.

6. Light red ware.

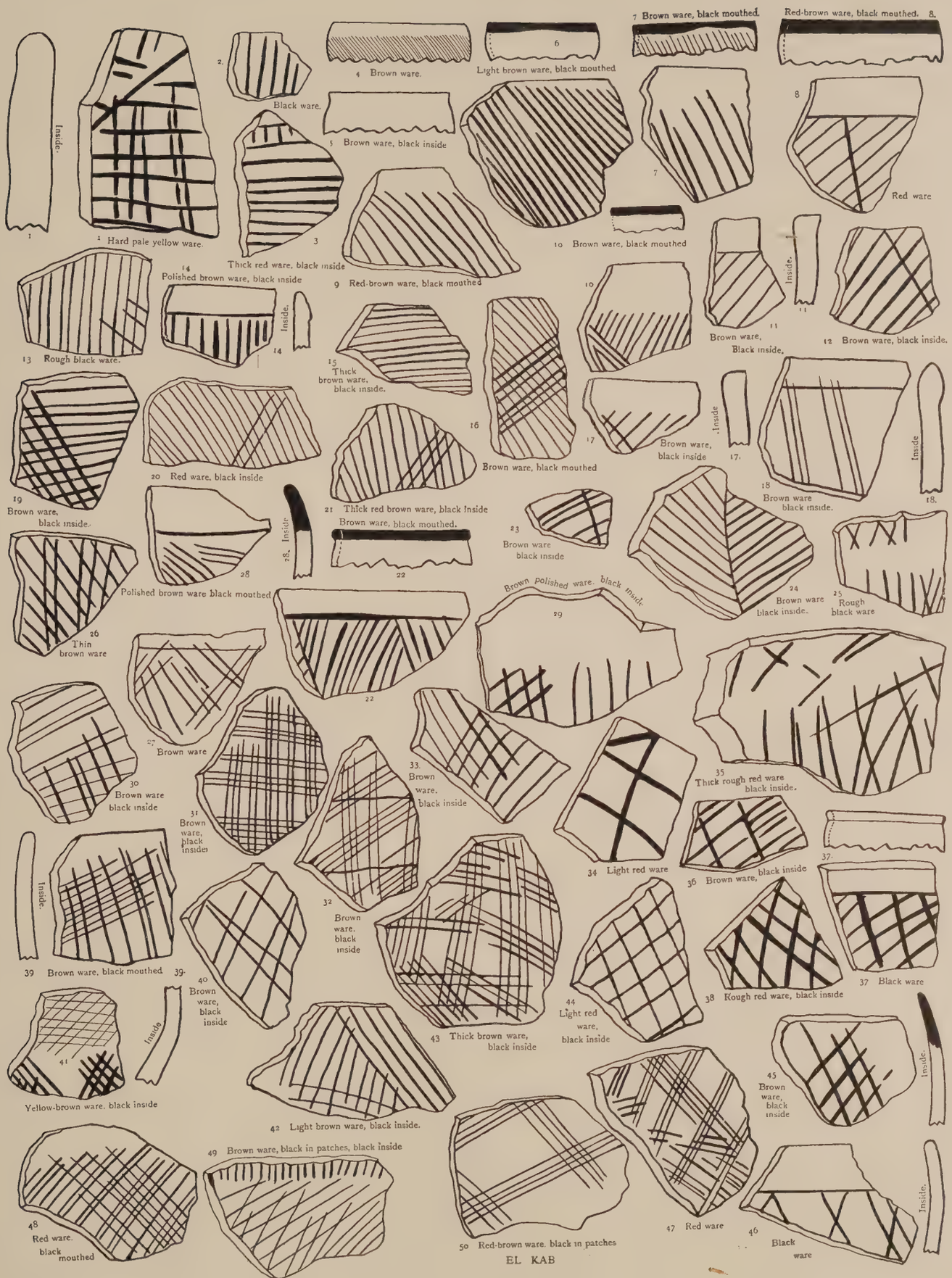
Red ware painted in darker red.

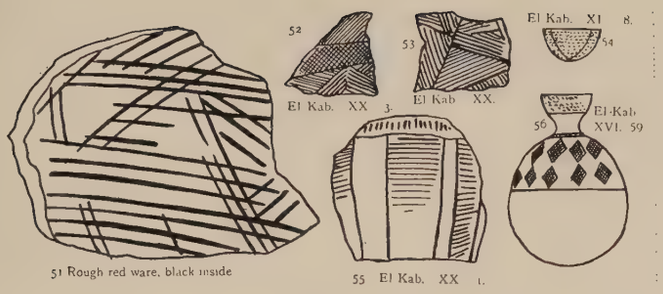


Inscriptions near Tomâs.

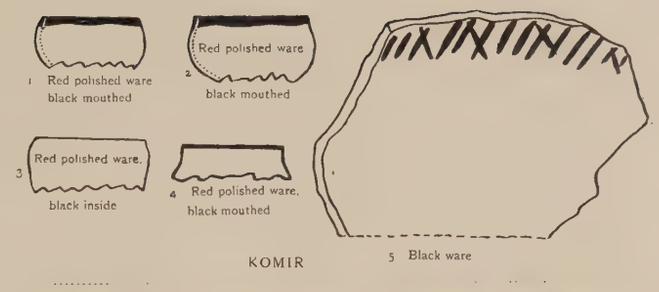
Pottery from near Es Sebûʿa Temple.

Inscription in Dakkeh Temple relating to the Dodekaschoinos.

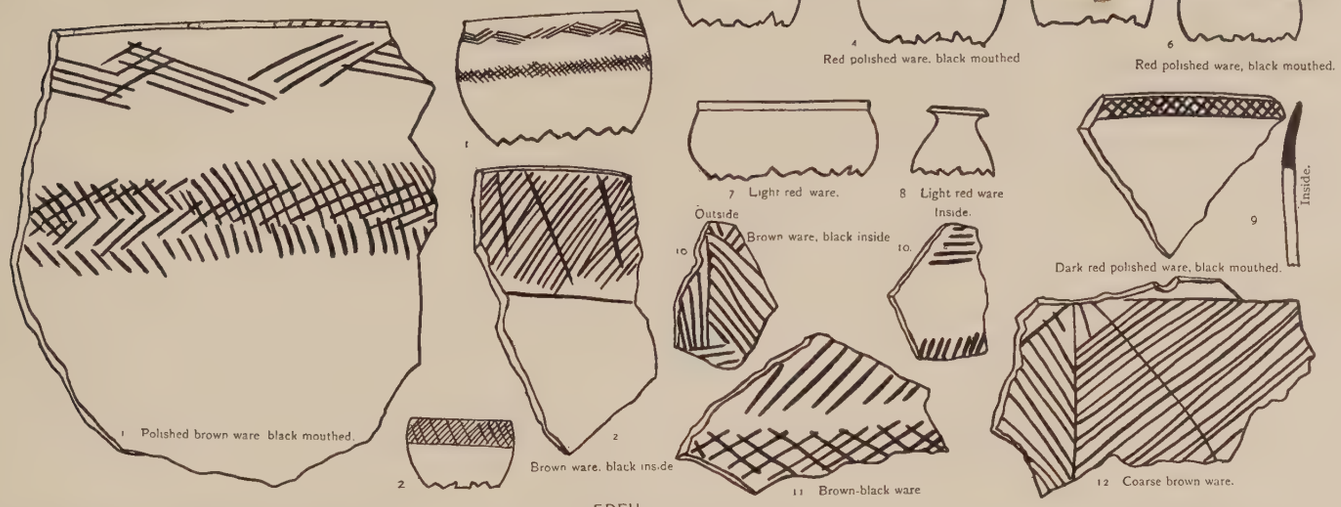

1 Inside.
1 Hard pale yellow ware.
2.
Black ware.
3 Thick red ware, black inside
4 Brown ware.
5 Brown ware, black inside
6
Light brown ware, black mouthed
7 Brown ware, black mouthed.
7
8
Red-brown ware, black mouthed. 8.
Red ware
9 Red-brown ware, black mouthed
10 Brown ware, black mouthed
10
11 Inside.
11
Brown ware, Black inside.
12 Brown ware, black inside.
13 Rough black ware.
14
Polished brown ware, black inside
14 Inside.
15 Thick brown ware, black inside.
16
Brown ware, black mouthed
17
Brown ware, black inside
17. Inside
18
Brown ware black inside.
18. Inside
19 Brown ware, black inside.
20 Red ware, black inside
21 Thick red brown ware, black inside
Brown ware, black mouthed.
22
23 Brown ware black inside
24 Brown ware black inside.
25 Rough black ware
26 Thin brown ware
28
28. Inside.
Polished brown ware black mouthed
Brown polished ware, black inside.
29
22
27 Brown ware
30 Brown ware black inside
31 Brown ware, black inside
32 Brown ware, black inside
33. Brown ware, black inside
34 Light red ware
35 Thick rough red ware black inside.
36 Brown ware, black inside
37.
37 Black ware
38 Rough red ware, black inside
39 Inside.
39 Brown ware, black mouthed
40 Brown ware, black inside
41
Inside
Yellow-brown ware, black inside
42 Light brown ware, black inside.
43 Thick brown ware, black inside
44 Light red ware, black inside
45 Brown ware, black inside
Inside.
46 Black ware
Inside.
47 Red ware
48 Red ware, black mouthed
49 Brown ware, black in patches, black inside
50 Red-brown ware, black in patches
EL KAB



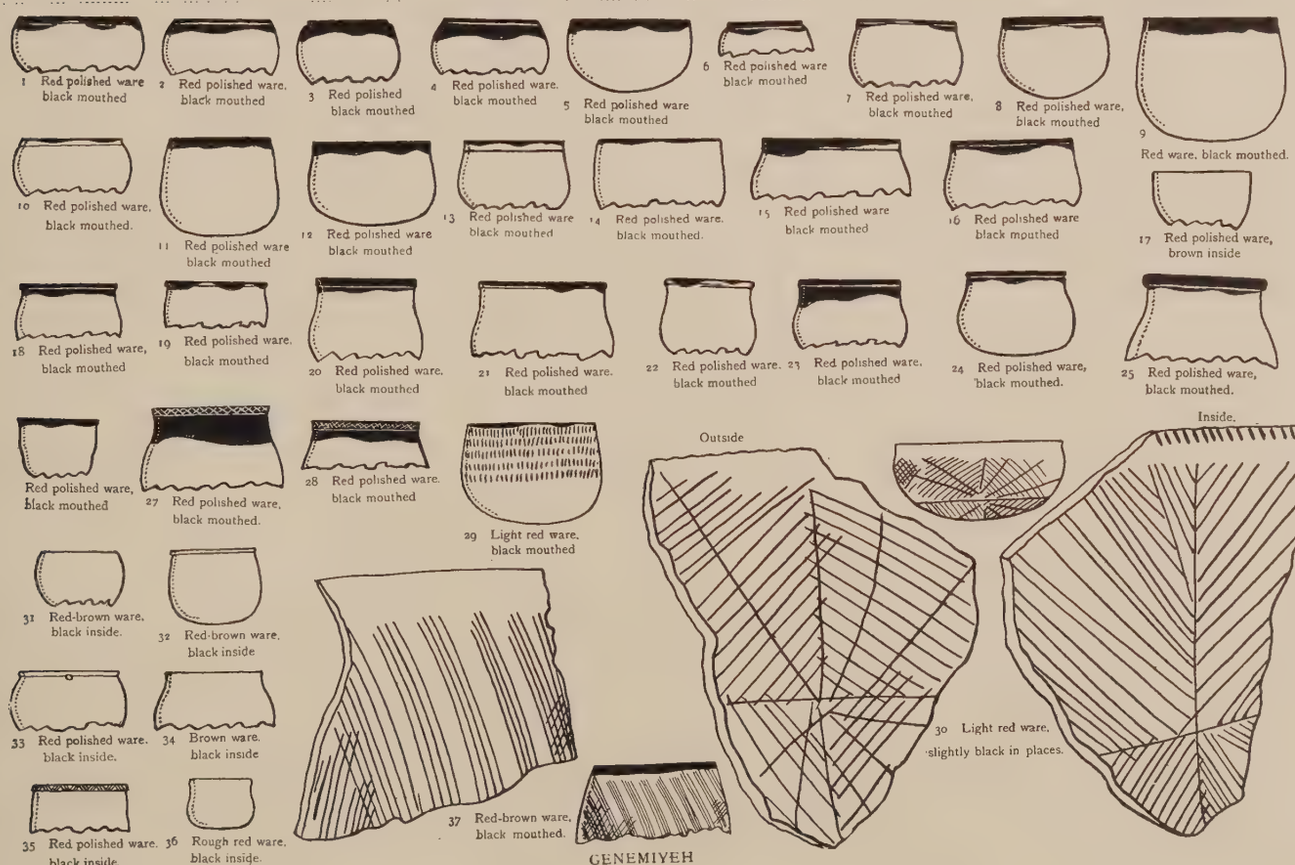
EL KAB



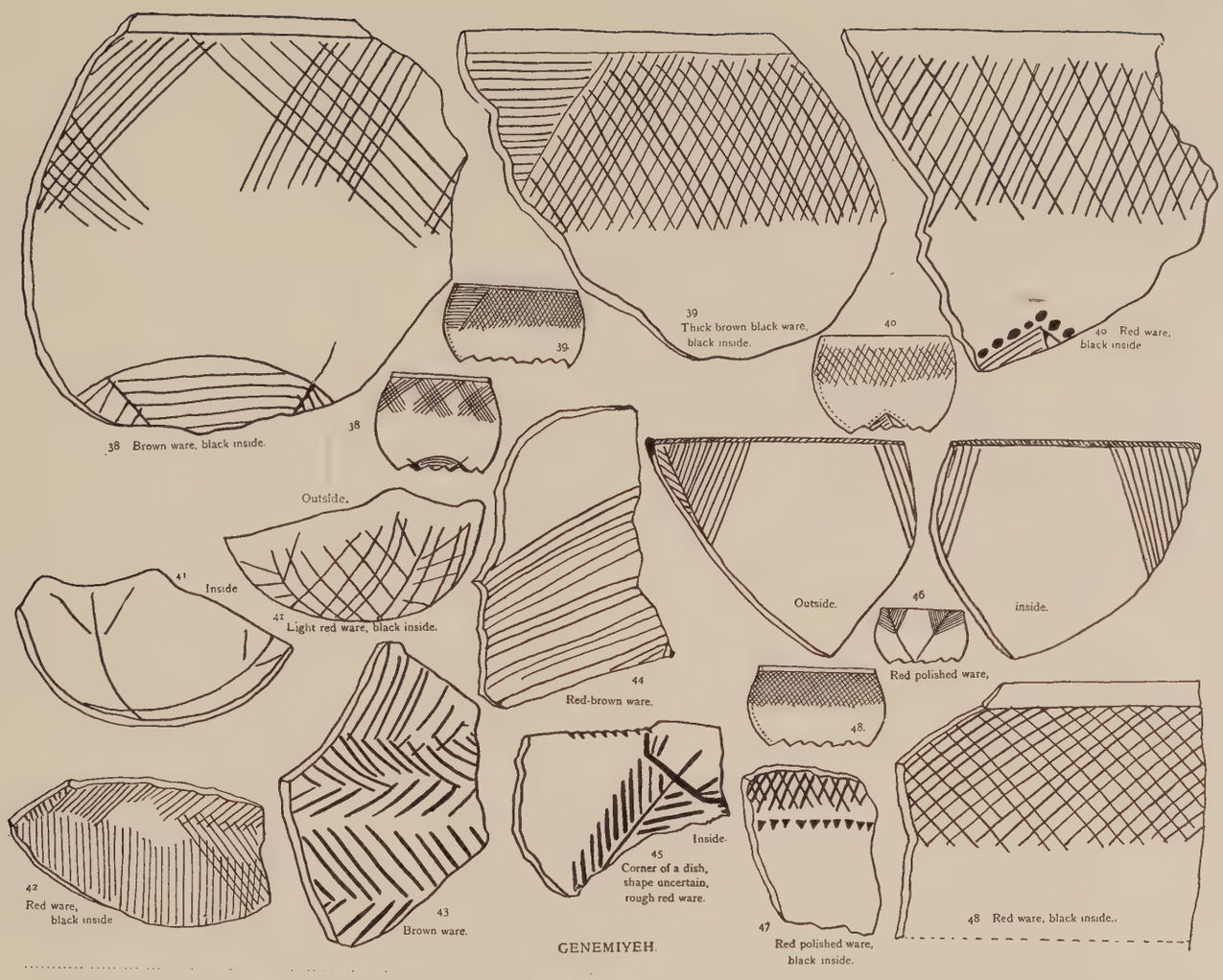
KOMIR

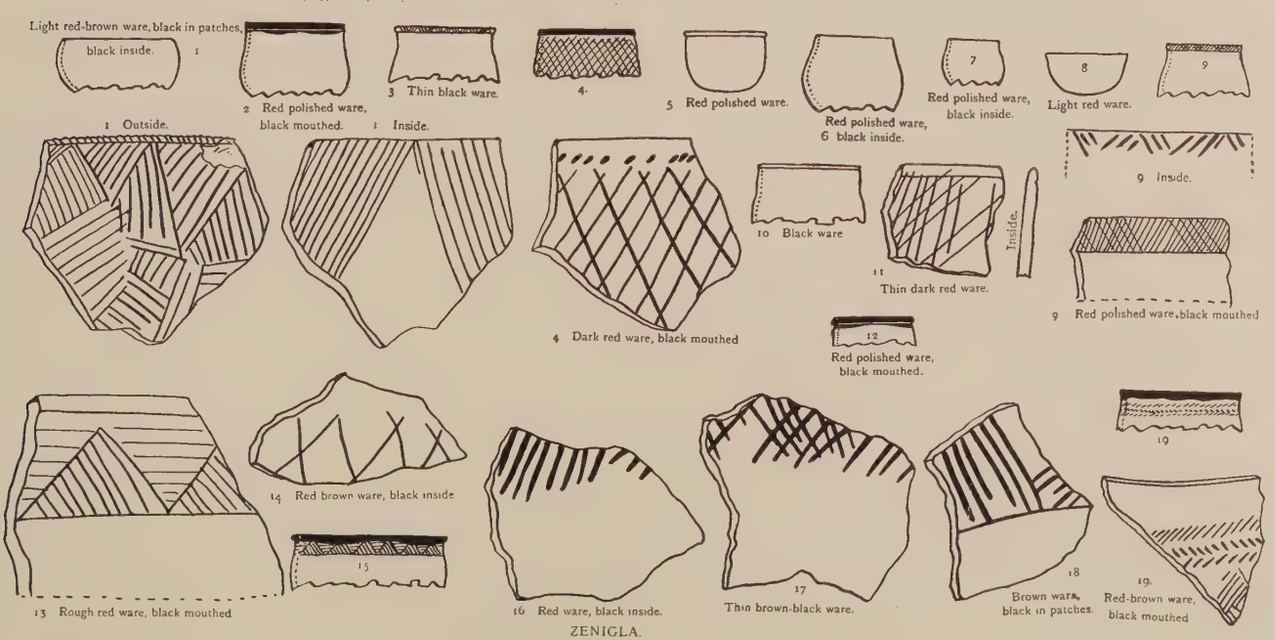


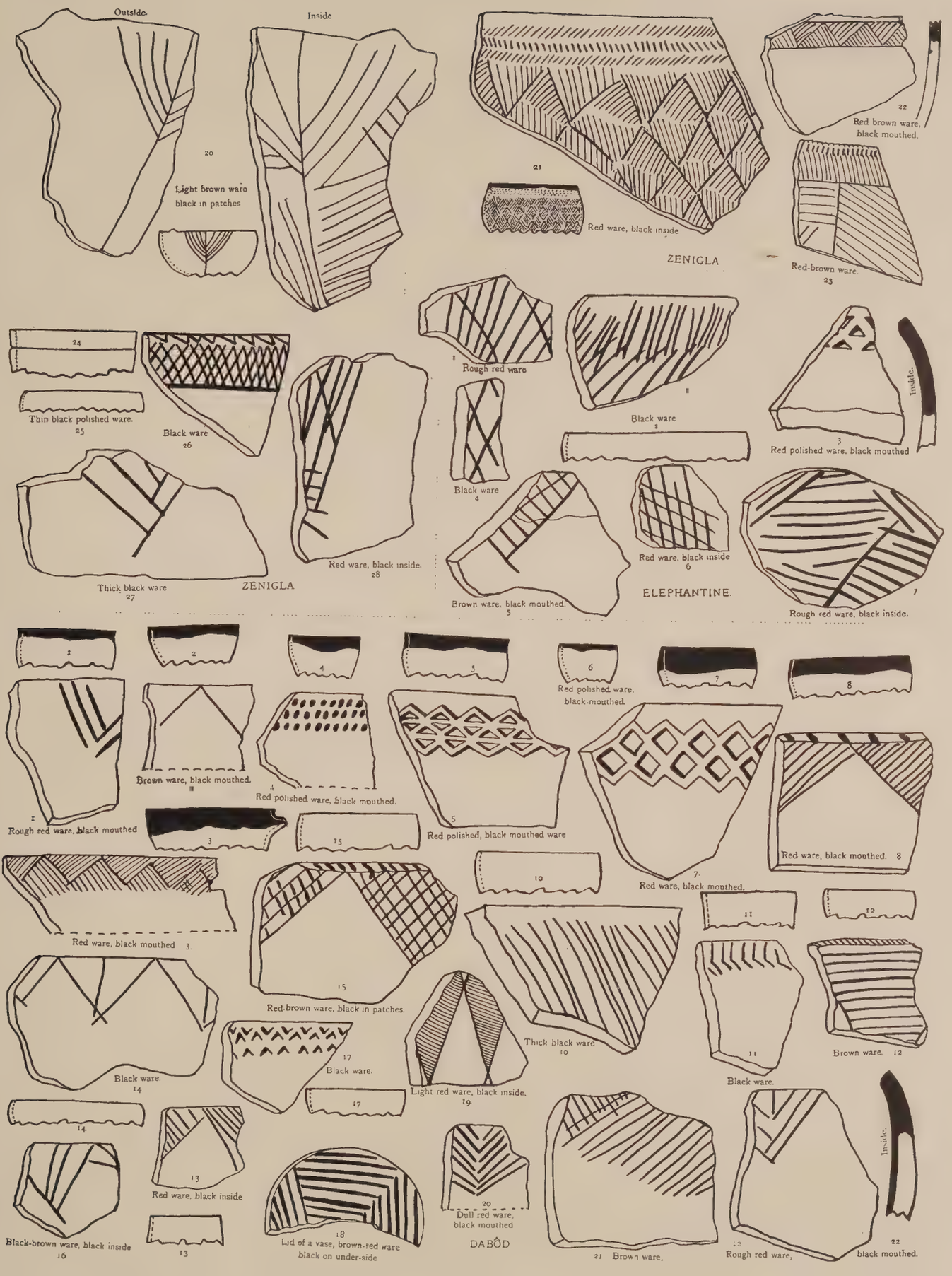
EDFU.



GENEMIYEH


38 Brown ware, black inside.
39
Thick brown black ware, black inside.
40 Red ware, black inside
Outside.
Inside
41
42 Light red ware, black inside.
44
Red-brown ware.
Outside.
46
inside.
Red polished ware,
48.
42
Red ware, black inside
43
Brown ware.
Inside.
45
Corner of a dish, shape uncertain, rough red ware.
47
Red polished ware, black inside.
48 Red ware, black inside.
GENEMIYEH.


Light red-brown ware, black in patches, black inside.
1
1 Outside.
2 Red polished ware, black mouthed.
1 Inside.
3 Thin black ware.
4.
5 Red polished ware.
Red polished ware, 6 black inside.
7
Red polished ware, black inside.
8
Light red ware.
9
9 Inside.
9 Red polished ware, black mouthed
10 Black ware
11
Thin dark red ware.
Inside.
4 Dark red ware, black mouthed
12
Red polished ware, black mouthed.
13 Rough red ware, black mouthed
14 Red brown ware, black inside
15
16 Red ware, black inside.
17
Thin brown-black ware.
18
Brown ware, black in patches.
19
19.
Red-brown ware, black mouthed
ZENIGLA.


Outside.
Inside
20
Light brown ware
black in patches
21
Red ware, black inside
ZENIGLA
22
Red brown ware,
black mouthed.
Red-brown ware.
23
24
Thin black polished ware.
25
Black ware
26
Rough red ware
Black ware
3
Inside.
3
Red polished ware, black mouthed
Black ware
4
Red ware, black inside.
28
Thick black ware
27
ZENIGLA
Brown ware, black mouthed.
5
Red ware, black inside
6
ELEPHANTINE.
Rough red ware, black inside.
7
1
Rough red ware, black mouthed
2
Brown ware, black mouthed.
4
Red polished ware, black mouthed.
3
15
5
Red polished, black mouthed ware
6
Red polished ware,
black-mouthed.
7
8
7.
Red ware, black mouthed.
Red ware, black mouthed. 8
Red ware, black mouthed 3.
10
Thick black ware
10
11
12
15
Red-brown ware, black in patches.
Black ware.
14
17
Black ware.
17
Light red ware, black inside.
19.
11
Black ware.
Brown ware. 12
14
13
Red ware, black inside
Black-brown ware, black inside
16
13
18
Lid of a vase, brown-red ware
black on under-side
20
Dull red ware,
black mouthed
DABÔD
21 Brown ware.
22
Rough red ware,
black mouthed.
Inside.

8 Thick rough red ware.
MORGOS
Brown ware. 1
KALÂBSHEH
Inside
2 Reddish-brown ware, black mouthed.
3 Rough red ware.
5 Dark red polished ware, black in patches
6
Red polished ware, black mouthed.
7 Red ware, black mouthed.
8 Thin black ware
1 Light red ware
4 Light red ware
9 Thin black ware
10 Red-brown ware.
11 Black ware
12 Rough red ware.
13 Light red ware, black in patches
14 Red ware, black inside.
4
15 Red ware
GERF ḤUSÊN
1 Red ware
KIRSH
1
Red ware, black mouthed
1
2 Brown ware, black inside
2
3 Coarse brown-black ware
4 Red polished ware, black mouthed.
5 Red polished ware, black mouthed
Black and brown ware, black inside
6
7
7 Thin black ware
8 Black ware
9 Light red ware, black inside
Dark red ware
10 Light red ware.
12
Polished red ware, black mouthed
14
Polished red ware, black mouthed
11 Polished red ware, black mouthed
13 Polished red ware, black mouthed.
15
Inside
Black ware.
SOUTH OF GERF ḤUSÊN
1 Red ware
1
Brown ware
2
3
Brown ware black inside
Black ware.
Inside
4
Black ware, pattern filled with white
Light red ware, black inside
5
KOSHTÂMNEH
1 Red polished ware, black mouthed.
2
Red polished ware black mouthed.
3 Red polished ware, black mouthed.
4
Red polished ware, black mouthed
5 Red polished ware, black mouthed.
6
Red polished ware, black mouthed.
7
Red polished ware, black mouthed
8
Red polished ware, black mouthed.
9
Red polished ware, black mouthed.
10
Red polished ware, black mouthed
11
Polished red ware, black mouthed.
12
Red ware, black mouthed.
13
Polished red ware black mouthed.
14 Red polished ware, black mouthed
15 Red polished ware, black mouthed
16
Red polished ware, black mouthed.
17
Red polished ware, black mouthed.
18
Red polished ware black mouthed.
19
Red polished ware, black mouthed.
20
Red polished ware, black in patches, black inside
DAKKEH.

1 Red polished ware.
2 Red ware.
3 Red ware.
4 Brown ware.
5 Red ware, black mouthed
6 Brown ware, black mouthed
Inside.
7 Red ware
8 Red ware.
9 Black ware.
10 Red ware.
11 Red ware.
16 Red ware.
17 Red ware black inside
9 Red brown ware, black mouthed.
12 Brown ware.
13 Brown ware.
Brown-black ware.
14
15 Red ware, black inside.
18
Inside.
18. Rough red ware, black mouthed
21 Red ware, black inside.
19
Brown ware, black inside.
20
Red ware, black inside.
22 Red ware, black inside
23 Red ware, black inside
24 Red ware, black inside
25
25 Black ware
26
Black ware
27 Black ware.
28
Brown ware
29 Red ware, black mouthed
30 Black ware.
31
Light red ware, black patches
32
Red ware, black mouthed
33 Brown ware, black inside
34 Brown ware
35 Red ware
36 Red ware.
37 Black ware.
38 Brown ware black mouthed

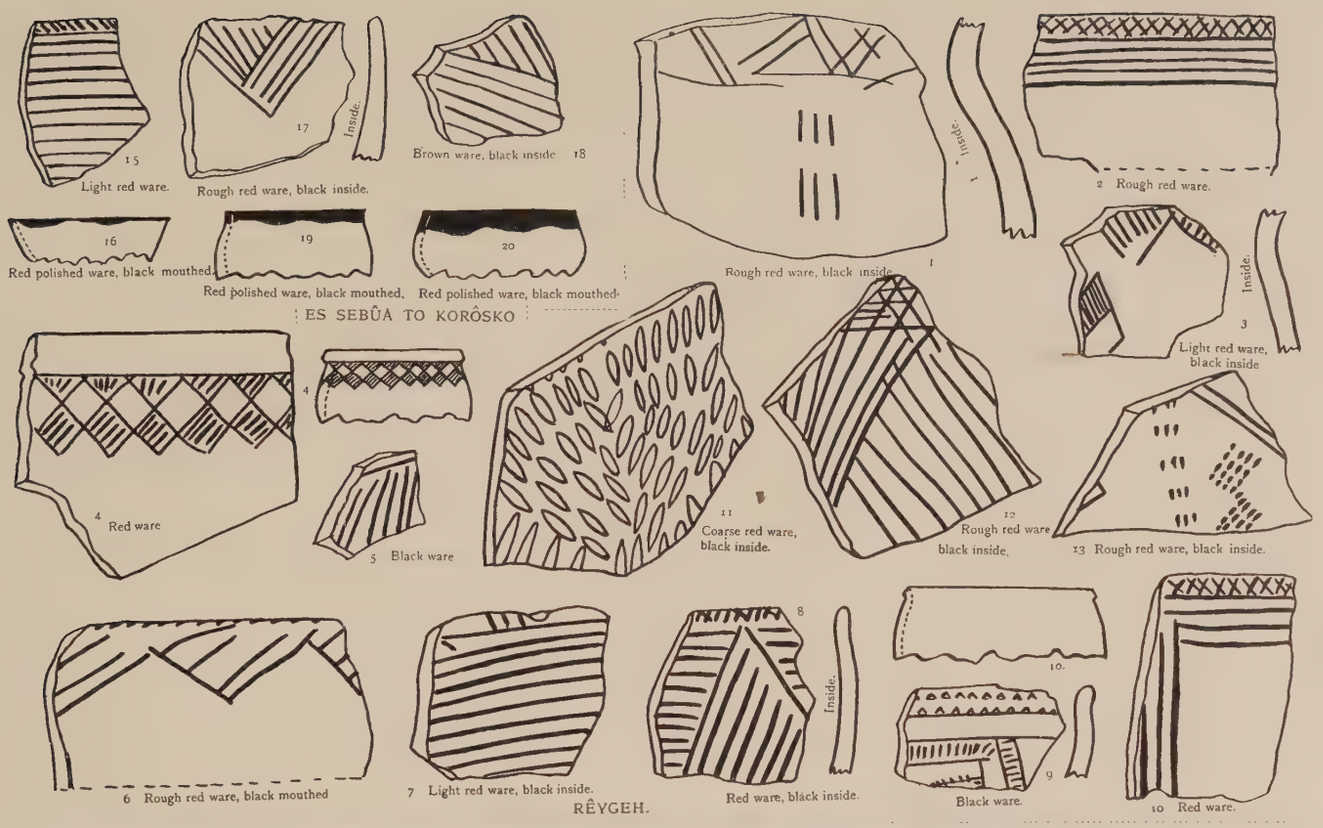
DAKKEH

A. E. P. W.

1 Red polished ware, black mouthed.
2 Red polished ware, black mouthed.
3 Red polished ware black mouthed.
4 Red polished ware black mouthed.
5 Red polished ware b ack mouthed
6 Red polished ware black mouthed.
7 Red polished ware, black mouthed
8 Red polished ware. black mouthed
9 Red polished ware black mouthed.
10 Red polished ware, black mouthed.
11 Red polished ware, black mouthed.
12 Red polished ware , black mouthed.
13 Red polished ware, black mouthed.
14 Red polished ware.
15
16
17
18
19 Thin brown ware, black inside.
20 Red polished ware black mouthed
Light brown ware, partly blackened inside.
17
Brown ware 18
19
15 Brown ware, black mouthed
16. Brown ware, black mouthed.
21 Brown ware, black inside
21
23 Brown ware, black inside
22 Red ware.
24 Brown ware, black mouthed
25
Polished brown ware, black mouthed.
26 Red-brown ware.
27 Light red ware.
28 Brown ware
inside
36 Black ware.
37
Red ware, black inside.
33 Red ware.
Inside.
28
29
Red ware, black inside.
30
Red ware.
31 Brown ware, black inside.
ḲUBBÂN.
32
Red ware, black mouthed.
Inside.
33 Black ware.
ḲUBBÂN.
33
Inside.
34
Red polished ware.
Inside.
35 Light red ware.
1 Dull red ware, partly blackened.
Inside.
3 Fine brown ware, black mouthed.
1 Red ware.
2
Red ware.
Brown ware, black in patches. 4
4
5
Red polished, black mouthed
MAḤARÂḲA
Inside.
6 Rough brown ware, black mouthed.
2
Red polished ware, black mouthed.
4 Red ware.
ḲÛRTEH.
5 Red ware.
Red polished ware, black mouthed. 3

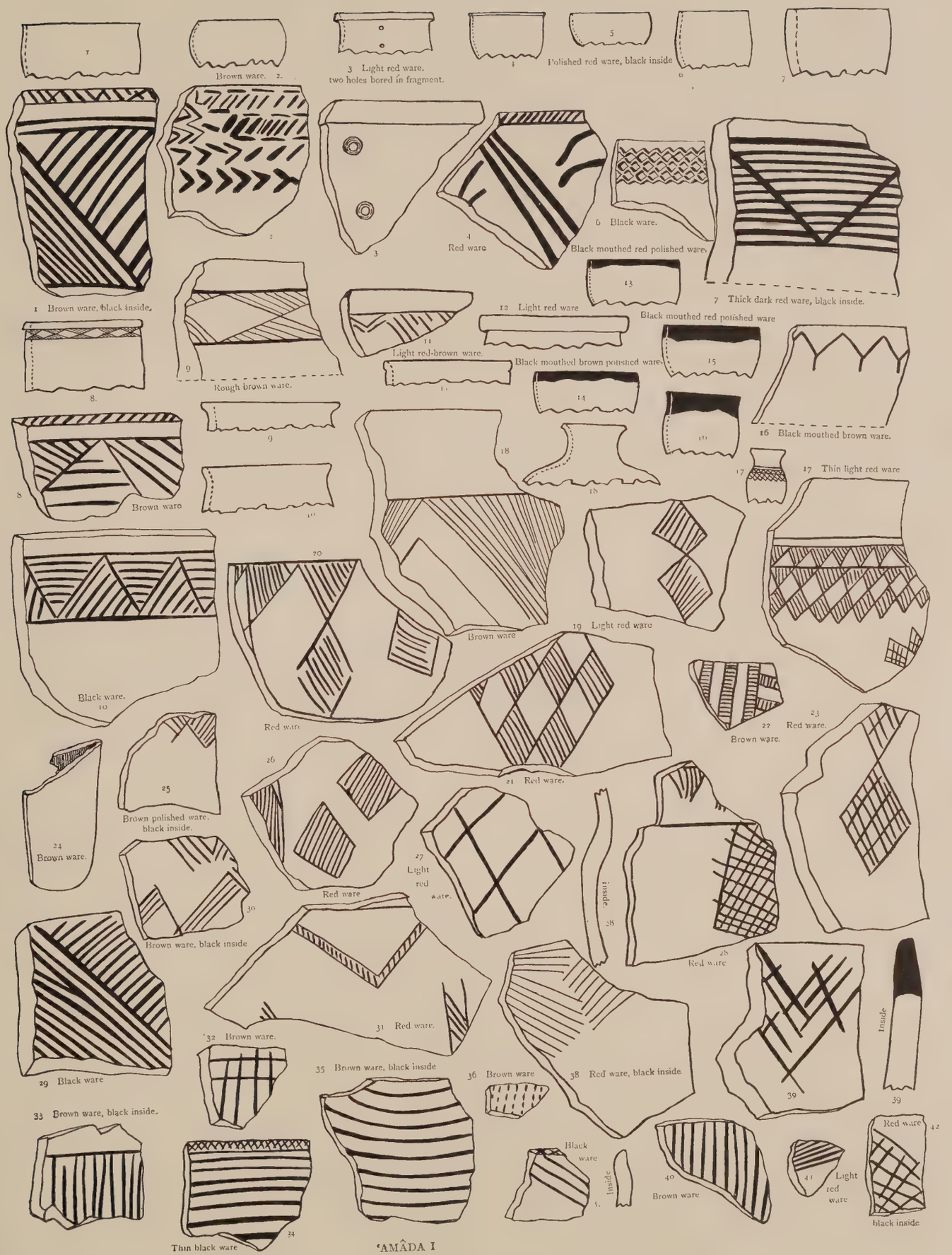
A. E. P. W.

7 Light red ware
Red polished ware, black mouthed 8
Red-brown ware. 9
Red ware, black inside 11
Brown ware 10
Red ware, black inside 12.
Rough red ware, black inside 13
Brown ware, black in patches. 14
15 Red ware.
Red ware, black inside 16
Brown ware, black mouthed 17
MAHÂRAKA
Black ware. 18
1 Light red ware
Black ware. 6
8
9 Coarse red ware, black mouthed
2 Brown-black ware.
Red polished ware, black mouthed 3.
4. Black ware
5 Light red ware, black inside.
7 Black ware.
10 Red polished ware, black mouthed.
11 Rough red ware, black mouthed
MELAHÂT
1 Brown ware.
4
Red-brown ware, black inside 5
Rough red ware, black in patches. 1
2 Dull red ware.
3 Dull red ware, black inside.
ES SEBÛA.
4 Light red ware
Brown ware, black mouthed 6
Rough brown ware, black inside 7
5
Brown ware black inside
6
Light red ware
8 Brown ware
9 Red ware, black inside.
12 Brown ware
12
3 Brown ware, black inside.
2
4
Rough brown ware, black mouthed. 7
10 Red polished ware
11 Rough red ware, black inside.
ES SEBÛA TO KORÔSKO.
13 Thin red ware, black inside
14 Brown ware probably the bottom of a dish


15
Light red ware.
17
Inside.
Rough red ware, black inside.
Brown ware, black inside 18
16
Red polished ware, black mouthed.
19
Red polished ware, black mouthed.
20
Red polished ware, black mouthed.
ES SEBÛA TO KORÔSKO
Inside.
1
Rough red ware, black inside.
2 Rough red ware.
Inside.
3
Light red ware, black inside
4
4 Red ware
5 Black ware
11
Coarse red ware, black inside.
12
Rough red ware black inside.
13 Rough red ware, black inside.
6 Rough red ware, black mouthed
7 Light red ware, black inside.
RÊYGEH.
8
Inside.
Red ware, black inside.
10.
9
Black ware.
10 Red ware.
1
Red polished ware, black mouthed.
2
Red polished ware, black mouthed.
3
Red polished ware, black mouthed.
4
Red polished ware, black mouthed.
16
5
Red polished ware, black mouthed.
6
Red polished ware, black mouthed.
9
Red polished ware, black mouthed.
10
Red polished ware, black mouthed
12
Red ware, black mouthed.
Red polished ware black mouthed.
17
Red polished ware, black mouthed.
19
Red polished ware, black mouthed.
Red polished ware, black mouthed.
7
8
11
13
Red polished ware, black mouthed.
15
Red polished ware, black mouthed.
18
Red polished ware, black mouthed
20
Red polished ware, black mouthed
Red polished ware, black mouthed.
14
21
22.
20.
Red polished ware, black mouthed
23.
8
Red polished ware, black mouthed
14
21
Red ware, black mouthed
22 Brown ware, black topped
23 Brown ware, black mouthed.
30
24.
25
Red polished ware.
29
26 Black ware
27.
24 Light red ware.
31
Red ware
Black ware.
28
28
29.
Brown ware black inside.
30 Bright red ware.
SHABLÛL
32 Red ware
27
Black ware
SHABLÛL.

33 Light red ware
34 Light red ware.
35 Brown ware.
Inside.
Brown ware black inside.
36
37 Dull red ware
38 Red polished ware
39 Thick black ware
40 Red ware
41 Red ware.
44 Light red ware.
42 Brown ware.
43 Thin black ware
45 Red polished ware, black mouthed.
46 Brown ware.
47 Red-brown ware
Thick red ware
48
49 Dull red ware.
55
Brown ware, black mouthed.
50
Brown ware, black mouthed
51
52 Brown ware, black mouthed
Red glazed ware, black inside
53
Red polished ware, black mouthed
54
56 Bright red ware.
55 Red ware
57 Red ware, black mouthed.
58 Red polished ware, black mouthed
61 Black ware
59 Thick brown ware with black patches, black inside
60 Dull red ware.
62 Black ware.
63 Brown ware, black mouthed
64 Black ware.
65 Red ware, blackened in parts.
66 Dull red ware.
67 Thin brown ware
68 Dull red ware
69 Red ware.
70 Red ware.
71 Thin black ware
72 Red ware.
74 Red ware.
75 Red ware. black inside
73 Black ware.
87 Dark red ware.
76 Brown ware.
77 Brown ware.
78 Black ware.
83 Red polished ware
86 Light red ware.
85 Light red ware.
88
80 Brown ware.
Brown ware
82 Red ware, black inside
79 Thin red ware, black inside.
81 Red ware
84 Black ware
SHABLÛL.
N
SHABLÛL.

A. E. P. W.


1
Brown ware. 2.
3 Light red ware. two holes bored in fragment.
4
5 Polished red ware, black inside
6
7
1 Brown ware, black inside.
2
3
4 Red ware
6 Black ware.
Black mouthed red polished ware.
7 Thick dark red ware, black inside.
8.
9
Rough brown ware.
11
Light red-brown ware.
12 Light red ware
13
Black mouthed red polished ware
Black mouthed brown polished ware.
14
15
16 Black mouthed brown ware.
8
Brown ware
9
10
18
17
17 Thin light red ware
Black ware.
10
20
Red ware
Brown ware
19 Light red ware
21 Red ware.
22
Brown ware.
23
Red ware.
24
Brown ware.
25
Brown polished ware, black inside.
26
Red ware
27
Light red ware.
30
Brown ware, black inside
28
Red ware
29 Black ware
31 Red ware.
32 Brown ware.
35 Brown ware, black inside
36 Brown ware
38 Red ware, black inside.
39
Inside
33 Brown ware, black inside.
34
Thin black ware
'AMÂDA I
Black ware
Inside
40
Brown ware
41
Light red ware
42
Red ware
black inside

43 Black ware.
44 Red ware
45 Black ware
46 Red ware
'AMÂDA I.
47 Red polished ware, black inside.
48 Red ware.
49 Red ware, black inside.
3 Thin light red ware
4 Black ware.
5 Red polished ware black mouthed
6 Red polished ware, black mouthed
7 Brown ware, black mouthed.
8 Red ware black in patches.
9 Red polished ware.
10 Rough brown ware
11 Light Red ware black in patches
Inside.
2 Red ware.
3 Red polished ware.
1 Red polished ware.
'AMÂDA II.
'AMÂDA II.
1 Brown ware, black in patches.
2 Red polished ware.
3 Black ware.
4 Red polished ware, black mouthed.
5 Red polished ware, black mouthed
Rough brown ware black in parts
6
7 Red polished ware, black mouthed
'AMÂDA III.
8 Red polished ware, black mouthed
9 Red polished ware, black mouthed
1
Red polished ware, black mouthed
2 Red polished ware, pattern filled with white
3
Red polished ware.
'AMÂDA IV
Black mouthed red polished
1
black mouthed polished Red ware,
2
3 Black mouthed, red polished.
3.
Rim
Black mouthed, red polished.
4
Rim
Black mouthed, red polished.
5.
Black mouthed, red polished
6
Black mouthed, red polished
7
Black mouthed, red polished.
8
Black mouthed, red polished
9
Black mouthed, red polished.
10
Black mouthed, red polished.
11
Black mouthed, red polished.
12
Black mouthed, red polished.
13
'AMÂDA V
Polished red ware.
14
Light red ware.
15
Red polished ware.
16
Brown ware, black in places.
17
Rough red slightly black inside.
18
Light red ware
19
Brown ware.
20
'AMÂDA V
Brown ware, black in places.
21
Light red ware.
22
1.
Brown ware
2
3
'AMÂDA TO TOMÂS
2
Black ware.

A. E. P. W.

3 Coarse red ware, black mouthed.
5 Light red ware, black mouthed.
6 Coarse red ware, black mouthed.
7 Red polished, black ware.
8 Brown ware, black inside
9 Coarse red ware, black mouthed.
4 Rough red ware.
11 Light red ware.
12 Brown ware.
10 Brown ware, black mouthed.
13 Black ware
15 Black ware.
16 Red ware.
18 Light red ware
14 Red ware, black mouthed.
17 Brown ware
'AMÂDA TO TOMÂS
19 Red ware, black
21 Brown ware.
20 Red ware, black inside
'AMÂDA TO TOMÂS
1 Light red ware.
DIWÂN NEAR DERR
6 Red polished ware, black mouthed.
1 Brown ware, black mouthed
3 Brown ware.
4 Red-brown ware, black inside.
5 Red-brown ware
TOMÂS.
7 Red ware.
2 Red ware.
TOMÂS.
1 Brown ware, black mouthed.
2 Light red ware, black inside
5 Black ware.
7 Thick black ware
3. Brown ware, black mouthed
Brown ware. 4
6 Light red ware,
ANÂYBEH
8 Red brown ware, black mouthed.

A. E. P. W.

9
10.
10 Rough brown ware
9 Brown ware, black mouthed.
11 Brown ware black inside.
12 Red ware
13 Red-brown ware.
14
15 Red ware.
16.
13
14 Light red ware.
16 Light red ware, black inside
17
Thin light red ware, black inside.
Inside.
18 Black ware,
15.
19 Light red ware, black inside.
20 Inside.
22 Rough brown ware
24 Red ware
25 Red ware, black inside
27 Red ware
21 Red ware.
23 Red ware, black inside.
Inside.
28 Light red ware black inside.
26 Red ware.
Inside.
30 Red ware.
33
Red ware
black inside.
29 Brown ware, black mouthed.
31
Brown ware, black inside.
32 Thick brown ware.
Inside
34 Red ware
35 Red ware, black mouthed.
Inside.
41 Red ware.
Inside.
37 Red ware.
36
Red ware
41.
38 Brown ware
Inside
40
Red ware.
39 Red ware.
Inside
42 Red ware, black mouthed.
43
Light red ware, black inside
44 Brown ware.
Inside.
45
Dark red ware, black inside.

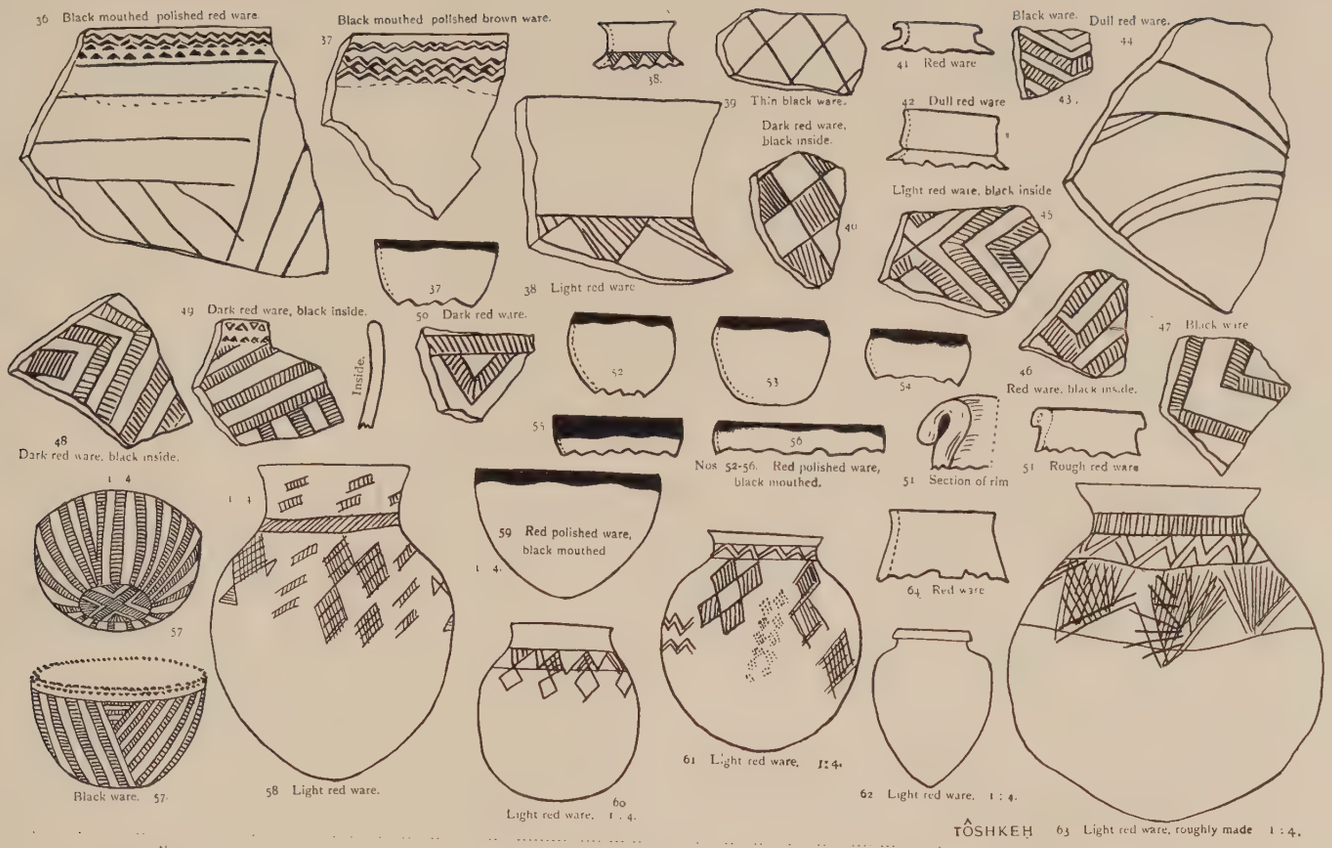
ANÂYBEH.

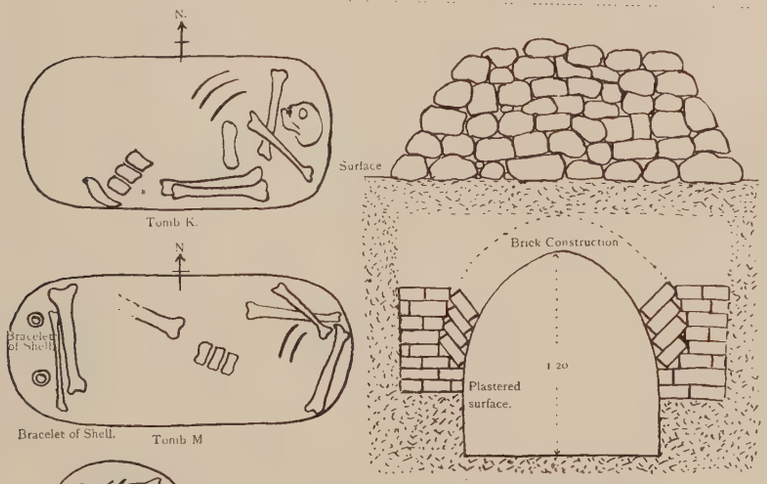
46.
47
48
49
Red Ware
50
47.
Light red ware, brown inside.
48 Light red ware
50 Black ware
52 Red ware.
53.
51
Brown ware.
46. Brown ware, black inside
54 Rough brown ware, black mouthed
55
Inside
56 Brown ware
53 Brown ware, black inside.
55. Light red ware.
57 Red ware, black mouthed.
Inside
63 Red ware
62 Red ware.
58 Red ware, black inside.
59 Brown ware, black mouthed.
59
60 Black ware
61 Brown ware
64 Black ware
Inside
Inside.
66 Red ware.
67
69 Red ware, black inside.
70
68 Brown ware.
65 Brown ware, black mouthed
67 Black ware.
Black ware
70 Brown ware.
71 Black ware.
Inside.
72 Brown ware, black mouthed.
73
Brown ware
73
Inside.
82 Brown ware.
Inside
75 Red ware, black inside.
76 Brown ware
80 Light red ware.
74 Light red ware.
77. Red ware.
81
Inside.
84
Example of pattern
ANÂYBEH
81 Brown ware, black mouthed.
Inside.
83 Red ware, black inside.
84 Brown ware, pattern dotted.
85 Red ware
78 Red ware
Inside
79. Brown ware.

86 Dull red ware, black inside.
87 Red ware.
88 Black ware.
89 Brown ware.
Inside.
90 Red ware.
91 Red-brown ware.
92 Red ware.
93 Red ware, black inside.
94 Brown ware, black inside.
95 Red ware
96 Brown ware.
96.
97 Red ware.
98 Red ware.
99 Red ware
100 Red ware.
101 Red ware.
102 Red ware.
103.
103
104 Red ware.
105 Light red ware
106 Brown ware.
107 Red ware.
108 Red ware.
Red ware, black inside.
109 Red ware.
110 Red ware.
111 Red ware.
112
Brown ware.
113 Red ware.
114
Red ware
115
Rough brown ware, black inside.
116
Red ware.
117 Red polished ware.
118
Brown ware.
119 Red ware
120 Black ware.
121
122 Red ware.
123 Red ware
124 Red ware.
124.
125
Thick brown ware.
126
Red polished ware, black mouthed.
127 Red ware.
128 Red ware.
ANÂYBEH
Black ware
129 Red ware.
130 Red polished ware.
131 Red ware.
132 Black ware.
133 Red ware.
134 Red ware.
135 Red ware.
136 Red ware.
137 Red ware, black inside

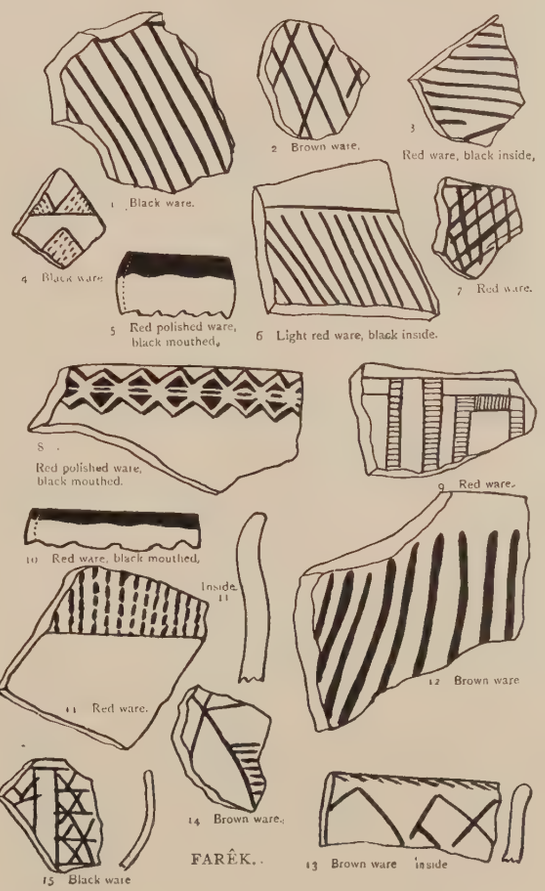
A. E. P. W.

138
139
140
141
142
143.
144.
145.
146
147
148
149
150
151.
152.
153
138-153 Red polished ware, black mouthed
ANÂVBEH
Inside
1 Rough red ware, black inside
2. Red ware, black mouthed
3-4 Red polished ware, black mouthed
3
4. Red polished ware, black mouthed
SEGÎSEREH
5 Red ware, black mouthed
1 Red polished ware black mouthed
2 Red polished ware black mouthed
3 Red polished ware, black mouthed
MUSMUS.
Inside 9
9 Red ware
6
Rough red ware, black inside
7 Light red ware, unpolished.
8 Thin red ware, black mouthed, and black in patches.
10 Thin red ware
SEGÎSEREH
7 Light red ware, black mouthed
Inside
Inside
8 Black ware.
10 Dark red ware
9 Red ware
11 Dark red polished ware
2 Brown ware
4 Red ware
6 Black ware
5 Black ware
13 Thin black ware
15 Bright red ware, black inside
3 Light red ware
14 Dark red ware black inside
19 Dark red ware
20 Light red ware, dull red inside, black core
12 Red ware
1 Light red ware
17 Dark red ware, light red inside
16
16 Red ware black lipped
18 Red ware upper part black black inside black core.
Inside.
21
23
23 Black ware
Rough red ware, partly blackened
26
Inside.
28 Dark red polished ware
27
Red polished ware, black mouthed.
29
Red polished ware, black mouthed
22 Black mouthed, polished red ware
Inside.
31 Brown black ware black inside
21. Red ware black inside
24 Red polished ware, black mouthed
Inside
Inside
25 Black ware
30 Red ware, black inside
32 Dark red ware black inside
33 Red ware, partly blackened inside
34 Light red ware
TÔSHKEḤ.
35 Light red ware

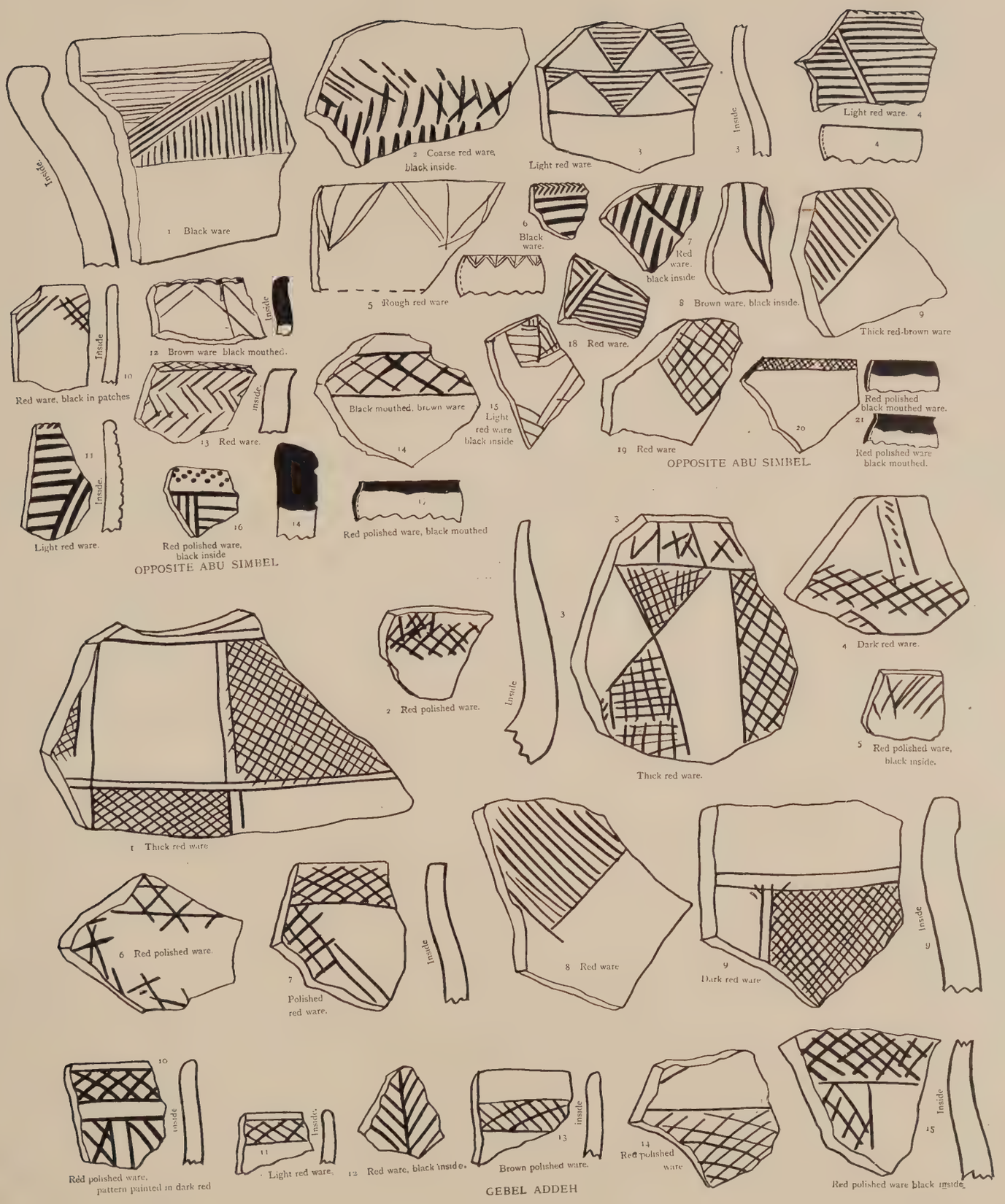




TÔSHKEḤ.



FARÊK.


1 Black ware
2 Coarse red ware, black inside.
Light red ware
3
Inside
Light red ware. 4
4
5 Rough red ware
6 Black ware.
7 Red ware. black inside
8 Brown ware, black inside.
9 Thick red-brown ware
Red ware, black in patches
10
12 Brown ware black mouthed.
Inside
13 Red ware.
Black mouthed, brown ware
14
15 Light red ware black inside
18 Red ware.
19 Red ware
20
Red polished black mouthed ware.
21
Red polished ware black mouthed.
OPPOSITE ABU SIMBEL.
11
Light red ware.
16
Red polished ware, black inside
OPPOSITE ABU SIMBEL
17
Red polished ware, black mouthed
1 Thick red ware
2 Red polished ware.
3
Thick red ware.
4 Dark red ware.
5 Red polished ware, black inside.
6 Red polished ware.
7 Polished red ware.
8 Red ware
9 Dark red ware
Red polished ware. pattern painted in dark red
10
11 Light red ware.
12 Red ware, black inside.
13 Brown polished ware.
14 Red polished ware
15
Red polished ware black inside.
GEBEL ADDEH

A. E. P. W.

PUBLICATIONS
DU SERVICE DES ANTIQUITÉS DE L'ÉGYPTE

Guide du visiteur au musée du Caire, par G. Maspero. — In-8°, Caire, 1902. — Prix : P. T. 16 (4 fr.).

— Le même traduit en anglais, par Quibell et Pire. — 3e édit., in-8°, Caire, 1906. — Prix : P. T. 20 (4 sh.). — Le même traduit en arabe, par Ahmed Bey Kamal. — In-8°, Caire, 1904. — Prix : P. T. 13.

Catalogue des monuments et inscriptions de l'Égypte antique. — Ouvrage publié sous les auspices de S. A. Abbas II Hilmi, Khédive d'Égypte :

Première Série :

Tome I. — *De la frontière de Nubie à Kom-Ombos*, par J. de Morgan, U. Bouriant, G. Legrain, C. Jéquier, A. Barsanti. — In-4°, Vienne, 1894. — Prix : P. T. 200 (52 fr.).

Tome II. — *Kom-Ombos*, 1re partie, mêmes auteurs. — In-4°, Vienne, 1895. — Prix : P. T. 200 (52 fr.)

Tome III. — *Kom-Ombos*, 2e partie, mêmes auteurs. — 1re livraison : in-4°, Vienne, 1902. — Prix : P.T. 100 (26 fr.). — 2e livraison : in-4°, Vienne, 1905. — Prix : 771 mill. (20 fr.). — La troisième livraison est sous presse.

Carte de la nécropole memphite : Dahchour, Sakkarah, Abousir, par J. de Morgan. — In-4°, 12 planches coloriées. — Caire, 1897. — Prix : 771 mill. (20 fr.).

Fouilles à Dahchour (mars-juin 1894), par J. de Morgan, avec la collaboration de MM. Berthelot, G. Legrain, G. Jéquier, V. Loret et Dr Fouquet. — In 4°, Vienne, 1895. — Prix : P. T. 195 (50 fr. 50).

Fouilles à Dahchour (1894-1895), par les mêmes. — In-4°, Vienne, 1903. — Prix : P. T. 200 (52 fr.).

Notice sur le temple de Louqsor, par G. Daressy. — In-8°, Caire, 1893. — Prix : P. T. 8 (2 fr.).

Notice sur le temple de Médinet-Habou, par G. Daressy. — In-8°, Caire, 1897. — Prix : P. T. 12 (3 fr.).

A Report on the antiquities of Lower Nubia, par A. E. P. Weigall. — In-4°, Londres, 1907. — Prix : P. T. 250 (65 fr.).

Fragments d'un manuscrit de Ménandre découverts et publiés par G. Lefebvre. — In-4°, Caire, 1907. — Prix : P. T. 97 (25 fr.). — Une seconde livraison contiendra le fac-similé du papyrus.

Annales du service des antiquités, tomes I à VIII. — In-8°, Caire, 1900-1906. Le neuvième volume est sous presse.

(*Les* Annales *formeront chaque année un volume de 18 à 22 feuilles, avec planches. Chaque volume sera vendu au prix de* P. T. 97½ [25 fr. 50].

Le musée égyptien. — Tome I. — In-4° avec 46 planches, Caire, 1890-1900. — Prix : 32 fr. 50. Tome II, 1er fascicule. — In-4° avec 17 planches, Caire, 1904. — Prix : 22 fr. — Le second fascicule est sous presse.

Plan des nécropoles thébaines, par E. Baraize. — 1re livraison, feuilles 9, 20, 21, 31 et 32. — In-f°, Caire, 1904. — Prix : P. T. 28 (7 fr.). — 2e livraison, feuilles 42, 53, 61. — In-f°, Caire, 1907. — Prix : P. T. 20 (5 fr.). — La 3e livraison est sous presse.

PUBLICATIONS
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Catalogue général du musée du Caire :

Ostraca, par G. Daressy. — In-4° avec 67 planches, Caire, 1901. — Prix : P. T. 220 (57 fr.).

Die Metallgefässe, par Fr. de Bissing. — In-4° avec figures dans le texte, Vienne, 1901. — Prix : P. T. 80 (20 fr. 75).

Die Fayencegefässe, par Fr. de Bissing. — In-4° avec figures dans le texte, Vienne, 1902. — Prix : P. T. 97½ (25 fr. 25).

Die Steingefässe, par Fr. de Bissing. — In-4° avec planches et figures dans le texte, Vienne, 1904. — Prix : P. T. 100 (26 fr.).

Fouilles de la vallée des rois, par G. Daressy. — 1re partie : *Tombes de Maherpra, Aménophis II.* — In-4° avec 57 planches, Caire, 1901. — Prix : P. T. 200 (52 fr.). — 2e partie : *Tombes d'Aménophis II et de Thoutmôsis III.* — In-4°, Caire, 1902. — Prix : 771 mill. (20 fr.).

Coptic monuments, par W. E. Crum. — In-4° avec 57 planches, Caire, 1901. — Prix : P.T. 270 (70 fr.).

Grab- und Denksteine des mittleren Reiches, par Lange-Schäfer. — 1re partie : *Text zu Nos.* 20001-20399. — In-4°, Berlin, 1902. — Prix : P. T. 220 (57 fr.). — 4e partie : *Tafeln.* — In-4°, Berlin, 1903. — Prix : P. T. 300 (78 fr.).

Textes et dessins magiques, par G. Daressy. — In-4° avec planches, Caire, 1902. — Prix : P. T. 70 (18 fr. 15).

Sarcophages antérieurs au nouvel empire, par P. Lacau. — Tome I, 1er fascicule. — In-4° avec planches, Caire, 1903. — Prix : P. T. 212 (55 fr.). — 2e fascicule. — In-4° avec planches, Caire, 1904. — Prix : P. T. 140 (36 fr. 25). — Tome II, 1er fascicule. — In-4° avec planches, Caire, 1905. — Prix : 771 mill. (20 fr.).

Greek papyri, par Grenfell et Hunt. — In-4°, Oxford, 1903. — Prix : P. T. 70 (18 fr. 15).

Koptische Kunst, par Strzygowsky. — In-4° avec planches et figures dans le texte, Vienne, 1903. — Prix : P. T. 300 (78 fr.).

Greek moulds, par C. C. Edgar. — In-4° avec planches, Caire, 1902. — Prix : P. T. 95 (14 fr. 60).

Greek sculpture, par C. C. Edgar. — In-4° avec planches, Caire, 1903. — Prix : P. T. 155 (40 fr. 20).

Greek bronzes, par C. C. Edgar. — In-4° avec planches, Caire, 1904. — Prix : P. T. 100 (26 fr.).

Graeco-Egyptian glass, par C. C. Edgar. — In-4° avec planches, Caire, 1905. Prix : P. T. 80 (20 fr. 75).

Graeco-Egyptian coffins, par C. C. Edgar. In-4° avec planches, 1905. Prix : P. T. 231,4 (60 fr.).

Die demotischen Denkmäler, par W. Spiegelberg. — 1re partie : *Die demotischen Inschriften.* — In-4° avec planches et figures dans le texte, Leipzig, 1904. — Prix : P. T. 120 (31 fr. 10). — 2e partie. (Sous presse.)

The tomb of Thoutmôsis IV, par Carter-Newberry. — In-4° avec planches, Londres, 1904. — Prix : P. T. 200 (52 fr.).

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